

HUCHOWN OF THE AWLE RYALE

SIR HEW OF EGLINTOUN

BY GEORGE NEILSON

1902

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‘HUCHOWN OF THE AWLE RYALE’
THE ALLITERATIVE POET

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‘Huchown of the Awle Ryale’

the Alliterative Poet :

A Historical Criticism of Fourteenth Century
Poems ascribed to Sir Hew of Eglintoun

By

George Neilson

Author of “Trial by Combat,” etc.

Glasgow

James MacLehose and Sons

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THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF GLASGOW
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS
TO THE PRESENT

GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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HOMAGE AND FEALTY
TO
FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND,
LL.D., D.C.L.

PREFACE

WHEN, more than a couple of years ago, my previous general interest in the alliterative problems was suddenly roused to an acute pitch by the discovery of the importance of a manuscript in the Hunterian Library, a condition of nescience and chaos prevailed among the critics. That very many lines were common to certain of the poems had of course all along been seen, though the tendency had grown to account for this very lamely by contradictory processes. The great lead given by Sir Frederick Madden in the recognition of a group as the work of 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale, had been for the most part set aside on grounds of dialect and grammar, on which the doctors themselves were at sixes and sevens. Methods of analysis had gained currency founded on the false notion that a poet's vocabulary must be constant whether his theme is of war or of love, whether he is singing free or is translating, whether he narrates or moralizes. Too large allowance had been made for scribal variation to prove changes in the dialect of scribes; too little when to discuss unity. The terrible uncertainty of inferences merely philological had been forgotten, and overweening Philology had betrayed its trust. The more the objections to a great poetic unity were considered on a re-approach to the question, the less did they satisfy the logic of a broad and rational historical criticism, especially as they were found to embody so much argument on discrepancies in style and subject, which would assuredly make it difficult to accept the common authorship of such works as 'Hamlet' and 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' as the 'Cottar's Saturday Night' and 'Holy Willie's Prayer,' or as 'In Memoriam' and the 'Charge of the Light Brigade.'

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At an early stage of my own special studies it became apparent that there existed a mass of clear fact, internal and external, far weightier than any argument previously urged, establishing a cross relationship and interpenetration of the poems, which on any other hypothesis than that of a single author would be a downright miracle. One has heard vague talk of a 'school.' A school of poets of this splendid calibre were indeed worth having; but it has never been produced, and we have waited long, with unrewarded patience, for any suggestion of the constitution and *personnel* of such a joint-stock company of genius. Critics who have opposed the proposition of a lofty poetic unity, comparable only with Chaucer, have now forfeited any claim to authority; for, if authority rests upon fulness of knowledge, little indeed can remain to certain of my recent predecessors in alliterative criticism when confronted with the many central facts now revealed, which were completely beyond their ken, and in ignorance of which their judgments were pronounced.

Besides, the unique and far-reaching evidences, brought to light by two Hunterian MSS. when compared with the poems, must totally alter the complexion of the earlier discussions. We approach the poet from a new base—a base of surprising intimacy with his sources and modes of composition, and even in some degree of his thought. The mystery is lifted, and not only may we discern who and what he was, but we may at the same time see Arthurian romance in the act of growth, and watch, as it were from within, the movement of a glorious intellect in the fourteenth century. For a mystery of chaos about the person and the work, we have now a definite personality and a series of related poems, with which his own life is bound up, and in which he demonstrates himself as one of the dramatic figures, while yet there remains the fascinating psychological problem, to show how the radiant centre of a Scottish poet's inspiration in so many pieces should have been found in English chivalry, refulgent in the fame of the Round Table and Crecy and Poitiers.

Speaking as a historical student, it may be allowed me to say that nothing in these researches has occasioned such lively satisfaction to myself as the unexpected emergence of the train of allusions to contemporary historical episodes, which so vastly deepen the sense and add

to the marvel of these poems. It will surprise many to find so much of brilliant English chronicle in *Morte Arthure*, and other pieces, as to challenge for them, in virtue of their historical realism, a place of oddly romantic authority as secondary documents for the French wars of Edward III. and his gallant son. And there is still more of *Morte Arthure* to explain by the same processes in history and heraldry as have made the disclosures recorded within.

The life of Sir Hew of Eglintoun will have to be written some day. Those who desire to have a preliminary collection of charter references and the like to his career will find it in *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, a calendar of events in which he was concerned, compiled from original sources by me some months ago, and contributed to the transactions of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow. Having a few reprints, I have placed them in the hands of my Publishers, so as to be available for any who may seek to check or supplement the sources of the biographical sketch given in the second chapter of the present book.

My preface must close in grateful expressions to many friends, particularly to Professor John Young, M.D., Keeper of the Hunterian Museum, whose constant helpfulness alone made possible to me the MS. discoveries now recorded. Monsieur F. J. Amours also has been (alike where we agree and where we differ) the most courteous and obliging of fellow-students in the alliterative literature. To Mr. J. T. T. Brown, and his sympathetic attitude towards what I may call my 'plot,' as it developed under my hands, I owe almost as much as I do for his fruitful suggestions, offered to me long ago, of the need for work on present lines for the vindication of the disputed poet.

The present essay has arisen out of two papers read to the Glasgow Archaeological Society on 19th April and 15th December, 1900, recast and united and extended. The whole is now reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Society, with a few alterations and additions, including an index, in an edition of 300 copies, whereof 250 are for sale.

G. N.

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‘HUCHOWN OF THE AWLE RYALE,’ THE ALLITERATIVE POET.

I. IDENTIFICATION PROBLEMS, LITERARY AND PERSONAL.

ONCE it was the fashion to regard Barbour's *Bruce* as the beginning of Scottish poetry. The sources from which it sprang were little if at all considered. One was content to pluck the bluebell without troubling over the soil in which it grew. If it did occur to anybody to ponder for a moment over the relation of Barbour to his time he was thought of as a somewhat artless but faithful chronicler of the deeds of Bruce. Always the estimate was of Barbour as historian. The conception of the literary craftsman had scarcely dawned. But he was a literary craftsman of no common order, well read in medieval Latinity and French. He was a facile and spirited translator as well as an admirable exponent in Scots of the manner of the French *chanson de geste*, and *The Bruce* has the rare distinction of being in the same breath an invaluable and veracious history and a triumph of Scottish literature.

Great though Barbour's merits are, however, they will not stand a moment's comparison with those of his lofty contemporary, 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale,' whose journey along the tangled pathway of verse probably began somewhat earlier than Barbour's, and the quality of whose poetic achievement far eclipses that of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

Huchown of the Awle Ryale probably soon after his poetic course began made translations, and there are many interesting analogies of theme to those believed to have been selected by Barbour, and known to have influenced his entire work. The most interesting contrast is that while the later poet selected an octosyllabic rime, the earlier adopted alliterative verse, depend-

ing for its music on those stresses of repeated letters, or 'cadences' which our wise King James VI. (translating 'cadence') was one day to classify as 'tumbling verse'—the '*rim ram rof*' system, designated as northern by Chaucer. A second contrast lies in the fact that as in the *Bruce*, Barbour left translation and betook himself to the facts of Bruce's life for his theme, Huchown went for his inspiration to history of another sort, to 'history' as recorded in the *Brut* or *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, making that the skeleton and frame for his *Morte Arthure*, which ranks so high among the contributions to the great Arthurian cycle.

The analysis of Huchown's work, and the determination of its chronological order or limits, of necessity involve the discussion of the intricate question of the poet's identity. Was Huchown of the Awle Ryale Sir Hew of Eglintoun? What is Sir Hew's biography? And what bearing has that biography on the understanding of the poetical work?

Not till the close of the eighteenth¹ century was it proposed to identify Sir Hew of Eglintoun with Huchown. The all-important words about the poet are those of Wyntoun, the chronicler, whose *Orygynale Cronykil* was written about 1420. In looking at the passage about Huchown it is needful to remember that it was no formal biographical sketch or regular bibliography, but a mere parenthesis in the question more engrossing to Wyntoun at the time, whether Lucius Iberius was Emperor or only Procurator. Wyntoun, after an enumeration of Arthur's conquests, obviously paraphrased from *Morte Arthure*,² relates the demand of tribute from Arthur made by the Roman Emperor Leo—the 'hawtane message,'

That writtyn in *The Brute* is kend;
And Huchown off the Awle Ryale
In till his *Gest Hystorialle*³
Has tretyd this mar cwnnandly
Than suffeycand to pronouns am I.

(*Wyntoun*, v. 4292-6.)

¹ Huchown was apparently not associated with Sir Hew by MacPherson editing *Wyntoun* in 1795 (*Wyntoun*, ed. Laing, iii. p. 225). See note to the Huchown passage in MacPherson's edition.

² *Wyntoun*, v. ll. 4271-89.

³ That this denotes *Morte Arthure* is plain both from what goes before and from what follows.

At this point Wyntoun is struck by the thought that somebody may censure him for referring to Leo and not to Lucius Iberius as Emperor. He therefore offers a gentle apology, and excuse of himself, for not following Huchown and the *Gest Historialle* (that is, *Morte Arthure*) in this respect, justifying his position by an appeal to authorities—

As in oure matere we procede,
Sum man may fall this buk to rede
Sall call the Autour to rekles,
Or aigue perchans hys cunnandnes.
Syne Huchowne off the Awle Ryale
In till his *Gest Hystoryalle*
Cauld Lucius Iberius empyoure
Quhen King off Brettane was Arthoure.
Huchowne bath and the Autore
Gyltles ar off gret errore—

because, as Wyntoun goes on to show, certain historians, Martinus Polonus, Vincent of Beauvais, and Orosius

Cald noucht this Lucyus Empryoure
Quhen Kyng off Brettane was Arthoure ;
Bot off *The Brute* the story sayis
That Lucius Hiberius in hys dayis
Wes of the hey state Procurature,
Nowthir cald Kyng, na Empryoure.

(*Wyntoun*, v. 4297-318.)

As the *Brut* had styled Lucius only Procurator, not Emperor, Wyntoun pleaded that he himself was free from blame in not making an Emperor of him :

Fra blame than is the Autore qwyte
As befor hym he fand to wryte ;
And men off gud discretyowne
Suld excuse and love Huchowne,
That cunnand was in literature.
He made the *Gret Gest off Arthure*
And the *Awentyre off Gawane* [One MS. reads Auenturis.]
The Pystyll als off Swete Swsane.
He wes curyws in hys style
Fayre off facund and subtille
And ay to plesans and delyte
Made in metyre mete his dyte,

Lytell or nowcht nevyrtheles
 Waverand fra the suthfastnes.
 Had he cald Lucyus Procurature
 Quhene that he cald hym Emphyroure
 That had mare grevyd the cadens¹
 Than had relevyd the sentens.

(Wyntoun, v. 4321-36, compare vol. iii. appx. to preface, pp. xxvi-vii.)

Nothing in this passage, having regard to the conditions evoking it, need incline us to suppose that the *Great Gest of Arthure*, the *Awntyre of Gawane*, and the *Pistil of Susan* were necessarily the entire volume of Huchown's work. The list, brief as it is, has proved of immense service as grouping three works of three sorts—historic, courtly-chivalric, and religious—in three metres. Critics are now tolerably well united in the identification of two of the poems named. The *Pistil*, a riming alliterative paraphrase of the story of Susanna and the Elders, is free from all dubiety, and maintains its existence still under the name ascribed to it by Huchown. The *Great Gest of Arthure* also is with a considerable measure of agreement, short of unanimity, accepted as the important alliterative romance-history, the *Morte Arthure*—that 'Gest of *The Brut's* old story,' which Wyntoun knew right well. The prowess and the fates of Arthur he tells us were there treated of 'curiously' by Huchown. All his fortunes, down to the tragic close,

Quhare he and hys Round Tabyll qwyte
 Wes undone and discumfyte,
 Huchown has trefyd curiously
 In *Gest of Broyttys* *auld story*.

(Wyntoun, v. 4363-6.)

Upon the third poem mentioned by Wyntoun, *The Awntyre of Gawane*, there are conflicting judgments. The great and learned scholar in record and romance, Sir Frederick Madden, editing his magnificent text and study of *Syr Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club, thought it was the

¹ That Wyntoun by 'cadens' means alliteration as opposed to rime seems certain from *Rollé of Hamfole*, ed. Horstman, ii. 345, wherein a piece of mingled prose and rime largely alliterative is said to be a 'tretys in Cadence after the begynninge gif hit beo riht poynted and Rymed in sum stude.' This important passage to which Prof. Carl Horstman kindly directed me is quite in keeping with the antithesis made by Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Macaulay, bk. iv., l. 2414) 'of rime and of cadence,' and by Chaucer, *House of Fame*, l. 623, 'In ryme or elles in cadence.' See note, chapter 15, sec. 1, below.

poem *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. My eminent friend, M. Amours, editor of the admirable volume of *Scottish Alliterative Poems* (Scot. Text Soc., 1897) considers that the *Awntyre of Gawane* was the poem called the *Awntyrs of Arthur*, which contains powerful internal evidence of the hand that shaped *Morte Arthure*. I am in the happy position of at least accepting the completeness of M. Amours' proofs that the *Awntyrs of Arthur* was Huchown's, although bound to dispute his argument against Sir Hew of Eglintoun having been Huchown of the Awle Ryale.

Points for this identification are briefly (1) that the poems fall naturally into Sir Hew's lifetime; (2) that as a brother-in-law of Robert the Steward, afterwards Robert II., and a court official under David II. and Robert II., he might well acquire the familiar surname 'of the Awle Ryale' (king's or royal hall); and (3) that the poetic renown of this Sir Hew, as well as the character of his work, is convincingly attested by Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*, which, after naming the Englishmen, Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, returns to tell of Hew of Eglintoun, Andrew of Wyntoun, and a third Scotsman as also among the victims of Death.

He has done petuously devour
The noble Chaucer of Makaris flour
The Monk of Bery and Gower all thre
Timor mortis conturbat me.

The gude Sir Hew of Eglintoun
And eik Heryot and Wyntoun
He has tane out of this countrie
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Various considerations have been advanced against the identification of the good Sir Hew with Huchown. It has been urged that the poems from their religious cast must have been written by an ecclesiastic. The reply appears in the adjective 'the gude,' which tradition had, according to Dunbar, associated with Sir Hew's name. Chiefly objection was taken that Huchown, as a familiar diminutive, implied a quite subordinate rank and position, and could never have been applied to a nobleman of Sir Hew's standing. But a marriage contract¹ of a Scottish lord in 1416 styles him 'Huchon

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1424-1513, No. 178, confirming and incorporating in 1430 a deed granted in 1416.

Fraser lord of the Lovvet.' There is a distinct body of proof (1) that the name Huchown, the old Scottish equivalent of Hugo, was of French origin, derived from Hugutio; (2) that in Scotland Hew and Huchown were alternative vernacular forms from the end of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century; and (3) that ultimately Hew prevailed. The Frasers of Lovat used the style Huchon in 1416, Huchoune in 1429, but Hew in 1471. The Campbells of Loudoun used the style Huchon in 1451, Huchone in 1454, but Hew in the sixteenth century. Historically Huchown as a Christian name is a distinctively Scottish type receiving in the north a measure of formal and official recognition not apparently shown in English documents of the period.¹ The external evidence, although meagre, is thus so distinct and consistent as to point to Sir Hew of Eglintoun and to no other known personage. Moreover, there is abundant indication internally that the author of the poems in question was a person of dignity, at ease in all matters of knightly courtesy and demeanour, and able to touch with authority on delicate questions of courtly precedence.

Another outstanding difficulty is the contrast of the poet's language with, say, that of Barbour or Wyntoun. And there is contrast not less strong between the tone adopted by Huchown and that of the other two towards England. These contrasts have been held by some to be so great as to make certain of the works impossible for a Scot. Indeed the latest theorists have gone to the heroic extreme of actually claiming Huchown as English: one placing the *Awle Ryale* at Oxford,² the other announcing the discovery of one 'Hugh the Bukberere' at Cambridge from 1353 to 1370, whose having been a book porter, in so august a spot, perhaps satisfies the intellect of his talented sponsor as a sufficient reason for advancing his name in the poetic category.³ Many men, many minds; there has been

¹ For many references and a full discussion see chapter iv. of my *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* in the *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, 1900-01.

² See Mr. Henry Bradley in *Athenaeum* of 22nd December, 1900, and my reply of 19th January, 1901. In his rejoinder on 23rd February, 1901, Mr. Bradley appears to admit his inability to produce evidence in support of his hypothesis. After this frankness of course there is no more to say.

³ See report of Philological Society meeting (paper by Mr. Israel Gollancz) in *Athenaeum*, 23rd November, 1901.

no end to the diversity of conclusions, critical, literary, and philological, on the precise dialect of Huchown, and his actual poetical performance. We are brought back to these problems to acknowledge that the Huchown poems, although admittedly containing innumerable signs of northern diction and influence, are yet not in any known and normal Scottish dialect. On the other hand who knows what was the dialect of English used in courtly circles of Scotland under Robert the Bruce? Such a consideration is itself enough to show that the dialect is not the obstacle to Sir Hew of Eglintoun which some have too hastily deemed. History, moreover, points with pikestaff plainness to a Scot. Philologists despairingly point the other way. When the philologist stands up against history he has a habit of going to the wall.

To identify the poet is one problem, to settle what were his works is another. Purely alliterative pieces claimed, directly and indirectly, for Huchown before the present enquiry began, included

Morte Arthure (4346 lines), edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865; also by Mrs. M. M. Banks (Longmans), 1900:

Destruction of Troy (14,044 lines), also edited E.E.T.S., 1869-74:

Cleanness (1812 lines), *Patience* (531 lines), also edited (E.E.T.S.) in *Early English Alliterative Poems*, 1864.

Pieces in alliteration and rime similarly claimed include

Gawayne and the Green Knight (2530 lines), edited for the Bannatyne Club in Sir Frederick Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, re-edited E.E.T.S., 1864, and reprinted 1869, 1893, and 1897:

Golagros and Gawayne (1362 lines), *Awntyrs of Arthure* (715 lines), *Pistill of Susan* (364 lines), all last edited by M. Amours in *Scottish Alliterative Poems* for the Scottish Text Society, 1897:

The Pearl (1212 lines), edited E.E.T.S., in *Early English Alliterative Poems*, 1864; also by Mr. Israel Gollancz (Nutt, 1891).

Other purely alliterative poems now discussed include these:—

The Wars of Alexander (5677 lines), edited E.E.T.S., 1886:

Titus and Vespasian or *The Siege of Jerusalem* (1332 lines), edited by Gustav Steffler (Marburg, 1891), usually cited within as *Titus*:

The Parlement of the Thre Ages (665 lines), *Wynnere and Wastoure* (503 lines), both edited for the Roxburghe Club, 1897:

Erkenwald (352 lines) edited in Prof. Carl Horstman's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, Heilbronn, 1881.

Three or four other pieces, all short, should have been discussed also. Only where the evidences appear direct and absolute have conclusions on authorship been advanced here.

2. HUCHOWN AND SIR HEW.

There having been elsewhere¹ worked out a biographical calendar of the life of Sir Hew of Eglintoun in detail, with full references, no more need now be repeated than serves to present the salient outlines of the 'good Sir Hew's' career. Sprung from an Ayrshire family, his nearest known ancestor (supposed to have been his father, but possibly his grandfather), Ralf of Eglintoun, owner of an estate near Irvine, submitted to Edward I. at the outbreak of the war of Independence, but from 1297 until 1342 absolutely nothing has been found recorded of the laird of Eglintoun, or of the youth of Hew. A relationship with the More family, specially connected with the monastery of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, has been treated as suggestive of a possible education in England, a feature of the first half of fourteenth century Scotland far from uncommon. Of such an education there is no direct evidence in Hew's case, but in the course of the present researches² there has emerged, in fourteenth century manuscript, believed to have been from Huchown's pen, not only the fact that the author of the Huchown poems was deeply interested in hostages, but the remarkable hint that he might himself have been a hostage in England and learned 'their language and their manners'—*linguam eorum et mores*—there. At no time between 1279 and 1340 was such a thing in the least improbable, and if the

¹ In *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* above mentioned.

² See chapter II below. This minor point for Huchown's problems was discovered after *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* was in print,

inference from the manuscript could be demonstrated to be historically a fact, the long silence about Hew's parents and himself in childhood would be accounted for, while at the same time the difficulty occasioned by the English-ness of the Huchown poems in dialect and tone would simply disappear. As it is, the hostage hypothesis can adduce for itself no single ascertained fact, and its documentary base though most interesting, will carry historically a quite different structure.

Of Hew's youth nothing is certain. His birth must have been prior to 1321, as he was not knighted until 1342, so that in the latter year he must have attained at least twenty-one, the years of knighthood. But as Ralf of Eglintoun, his ancestor, was not a knight, so that Hew did not inherit his rank, he may well have been considerably over one and twenty when he was dubbed by the hand of David II. while on the eve of setting out on an ill-starred expedition into England.

Already in that year David had invaded England and burnt Penrith, passing, no doubt, the poetic Tarn Wadling in course of his march. Subsequently, a second time crossing the border, one of his invading squadrons, including the newly made knights, fell into an ambush laid by Robert of Ogle, with the result that amongst others the knight of Eglintoun was captured.

On bathe the halfis slane war men ;
 Bot the knychtis the wers had then
 For thare folk vengust ware ilkane,
 And fyve knychtis in fycht ware tane,
 Stewart, Eglyntown and Cragy,
 Boyde and Fowlartown. Thir worthy
 Ogill has had till his presowne,
 And syne delyveryd thame for rawisounne.

(*Wyntoun*, viii. 6003-10.)

Sir Hew makes his first appearance in the business records of Scotland in 1347, when he received a grant of a 'relief' (a feudal casualty or perquisite) from Robert the Steward, nephew of the King and grandson of Robert the Bruce. In 1348 a charter shews that he was then married to Agnes More, daughter of the late Chamberlain of Scotland, Sir Reginald More. Throughout his whole public career Sir Hew (always styled 'Hugo' in Latin deeds relative to him, and once 'Mons. Hugh' in a document in

French) was associated with the Steward. The chief house of that family was at Dundonald, and Eglintoun was the adjoining manor. Constantly Sir Hew is found acting as a witness to charters and similar public writings by the Steward. Both the Steward and Sir Hew are found in very frequent attendance on the King. They of course followed the court.

Sir Hew not only does not appear to have been either a prisoner or a hostage during the captivity of David II. after 1346, but public documentary references in 1347 and 1348 prove him to have been in Scotland during that captivity. In 1358 he received safe conduct to go to England, as he did again in the beginning of 1359. Associates of his from this time onward were Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Archibald of Douglas, best known as Archibald the Grim, who, though usually thought of as a soldier, was probably better known to his own time as a diplomatist and judge. At London, in February 1359, Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew appended their signets in the absence of the Great Seal of Scotland to an agreement relative to the liberation and ransom of David II., a prisoner in England from 1346, when he had been captured at Durham.

In 1360 Sir Hew makes his appearance¹ as a Justiciar of Scotland along with Sir Robert of Erskine effecting an agreement of assythment for slaughter in a feud between the Drummonds and Menteiths.

Meanwhile Sir Hew's first wife must have died, and about 1360 he is found married a second time—to Dame Egidia, a half-sister of Robert the Steward, who granted to him and her an annual-rent of wax.

The year 1363 was eventful in the intrigue of Anglo-Scottish policy. Towards the end of April Sir Hew had safe conduct to England and Canterbury, and it is suggested that this visit had to do with the great tiltings held during the first five days of May in connection with St. George's Festival and the Round Table of Edward III. These celebrations of the Order of the Garter were held at that time. There were also later in the year special celebrations in honour of the fiftieth birthday of Edward III., and Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew were both in London. David II. himself was there also, and on 27th November an agreement

¹ *Book of Menteith*, ii. 239.

was reached between the two kings that, failing heirs-male of the body of David, the King of England should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland. Erskine was a party to this agreement: Sir Hew's position towards it is not clear, but his knowledge of it must be assumed. The Scottish Parliament, on 4th March, 1364, refused to sanction the agreement. Erskine was sent back to London to negotiate better terms, and a revised provisional agreement was drawn up whereby, failing heirs-male of the body of David II., the throne of Scotland was to pass to a son of the King of England other than the heir-apparent. The prince in view was Lionel, second son of Edward III. David II., a pleasure-loving king, was from about 1358 onwards hand and glove with his brother-in-law, the English King. He did all in his power in 1363 and 1364 to set aside the rights of the Steward of Scotland as heir to the Scottish throne and to substitute Edward or one of his children. Wyntoun naïvely hits off the situation:

The Kyng Davy in Yngland raid,
As offit tym in oys he had,
And at Lundoun play him wald he;
For thare was rycht great specialte
Betwen hym and the Kyng Edward.

—*Wyntoun*, viii. 7047.

English policy and Scottish intrigue—for Scotland itself was reluctant—were at work to effect a union in the future, for David II. had no lawful child, and his second wife, Margaret of Logie, was no longer young. In July, 1365, parliament at Perth sanctioned a treaty whereby Scotland should aid England (if invaded) with 1000 men and England should aid Scotland with 500.

Sir Hew from about 1366 held various offices as Bailie of Cunningham and Chamberlain of Irvine—judgeships as deputy of the feudal lord, with functions of administration accompanying—under the Steward, of whom he was the trusted adviser. These offices were partly judicial, partly financial. The burgh of Irvine lay near to both Dundonald and Eglintoun; it was a leading seaport of the West at that time, and the Steward is known to have been a yachtsman fond of cruising on the Clyde.

Border treaty negotiation occupied Sir Hew in 1367. Early in 1368

he went to London. That summer he was legislating for the 'Out Isles' and inspecting royal castles, as well as probably assisting the king in judicial appeals. David II., in 1369, raised an action of divorce against Queen Margaret, in connection with which Sir Hew's passage to France—and probably to Rome or Avignon—between June, 1369, and January, 1370, probably took place. A normal route to Rome in the fourteenth century passed through Lucerne across Mount 'Godard' into Lombardy, through Como, Milan, Pontremoli, Pietrasanta, Pisa, and Viterbo. (So Adam of Usk¹ travelled, and so journeyed King Arthur's invading army in *Morte Arthure*.) Soon after Sir Hew's return the divorce was granted in Scotland—in Lent, 1370. Margaret was maintaining her appeal in 1371 when David II. died.

Under Queen Margaret's influence the Steward had been thrust back from his rights. When she fell out with her husband the Steward was restored to his uncle's friendship. On the death of David—though not without a struggle, in which the promptness of success was due to Sir Robert of Erskine—the Steward succeeded to the throne under the title of Robert II. Huchown's life-long patron, friend, and kinsman by marriage now reigned, and his possession of the royal confidence and regard was thenceforward in constant evidence. After the coronation Sir Hew acted as one of a very special privy council² *de statu seu modo vivendi ipsius Regis et etiam Regine*, concerning the management of the royal household—a function from which a particular association of his name with the 'Awle Ryale,' or royal palace, may readily have arisen.

The age was the heyday of chivalry, and a thousand signs shew that the movement which had produced the Round Table in England was active in Scotland too.³ If Edward III. was fond of hawking,⁴ Robert II. was historically no less devoted to the chase⁵ and fond of the sea.⁶ Perhaps it may be lawful to argue 'Like king, like courtier.'

¹ *Adam of Usk*, 72-73. From London to Rome the journey occupied 41 days.

² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i. 547.

³ This is shewn in *Trial by Combat*, part vi.

⁴ Adam Murimuth's *Chronicon* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 226.

⁵ *Liber Pluscardensis*, i. 311.

⁶ *Exchequer Rolls*, iii. 667, etc.

Financially Sir Hew repeatedly appears as a man of means, from whom his royal brother-in-law did not disdain to borrow. His capacity in money matters, as well as his relationship to the king, no doubt influenced his selection as an Auditor in Exchequer. And it is of peculiar interest to find Archdeacon John Barbour as his colleague. The Stewart influence favoured literature. Sir Hew and Barbour were called to Exchequer office at one time. Barbour in 1373 was an auditor, and in 1374 clerk of audit. *The Bruce*, written in 1376, contains alliterative quotations¹ from *The Destruction of Troy*, one of the supposed Huchown poems.

Now, Sir Hew's day was drawing to its close. In June, 1376, he received from Robert a grant of annual-rents in Ayrshire, with special license of mortmain, that is, leave to settle them for religious purposes. There is reason to believe that he made a will providing for masses to be said for his soul in the Abbey of Kilwinning, an establishment adjacent to Eglintoun. Between 30th November, 1376, and 3rd February, 1377, Sir Hew died, and probably was laid to rest in Kilwinning Abbey Choir, where at any rate masses are recorded to have been long celebrated for the weal of his soul.

3. 'OFF THE AWLE RYALE.'

The briefest recapitulation² must suffice to enunciate the proposition that 'the Awle Ryale' of Wyntoun's odd reference is a vernacular shape of *Aula Regis*, *Regia*, or *Regalis*, and that it was the *Aula Regis* or king's hall of Scotland, which conferred the personal epithet in question. *Aule*, a hall, appears in old law-French, and in the Huchown poems themselves such phrases as 'roy reall,' 'dese riall,' and 'sete riall' are in common use.

On the Continent, in England, and in Scotland the *Aula Regis* was from an early date the great place of law, subdividing later into a variety of

¹ See my *John Barbour, Poet and Translator* (Kegan, Paul & Co., 1900), pp. 10, 11.

² For details and proofs see my *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, above referred to, chap. v. The great importance in Scotland attached to the court institutions is strikingly brought out by a document discovered by my friend Miss Mary Bateson in a Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS. (C.C.C.C. 37) containing much regarding offices and functions. It will shortly be edited by her.

administrative, financial, and legal jurisdictions. The High Steward held lofty ceremonial authority there, and the Justiciars' place of session was by metaphor of English law, 'as the king's hall'—*sicut aulam regiam*. The king sat in judgment there, and the king's justiciars sat for him. In *Morte Arthure* (ll. 524-5) the hall is 'the most royal place' of the Round Table. In fourteenth and fifteenth century public documents of Scotland 'Aula Regis,' 'Aula Regia,' 'Kingis Haw,' 'Kingis Hall' has varied currency as a place of royal dignity and law, with courtly and exchequer as well as judicial functions. With each of these Sir Hew was in direct and sustained connection. To each of these also the Huchown poems show a similarly sustained series of relations.¹ To conjoin Huchown with Sir Hew and the Awle Ryale with the Court of Scotland appears therefore not merely reasonable; the facts constrain it.

4. HUCHOWN'S POEMS: THE LINES OF CORRELATION.

Far nobler even than the fine problem of the poet's personal identification is that of determining what his actual achievement was—what poems are truly the product of his single superbly appointed pen. To prove unity and correlation where others have failed, or denied, is the purpose of the ensuing chapters. Others before now have argued on the question, but despite the labours of many scholars the real power of the case for the unity of Huchown's poetry has never been perceived, perhaps could not be perceived so long as certain manuscript evidences remained unknown. Resemblances of style and spirit, coincidences of line and phrase, and analogies of alliteration have certainly received attention, but inquiry has not developed a convincing critical basis of approach. For the first time a process of colligation will be applied which claims (1) to associate these

¹ For instance, *Morte Arthure* shews the ceremonial side, ll. 156, 208-9, 268, 3186-7: the exchequer side, ll. 425, 660-3; and the legal side, 113, 443-64, 665-72, 3140. *Garwayne* is through and through a court poem. The *Awentyrs of Arthure* has both ceremonial—ll. 440, 491, 635, 649-51—and law—ll. 339, 350, 387, 465-7, 597, 635, 646, 675-85 (cf. *Sir Hew of Eglington*, ch. v.). The *Pistill*, was it chosen because its theme was a trial with a cross-examination? A number of points in other poems are brought out incidentally in course of this paper.

resemblances and coincidences and analogies, with absolute proofs of relation and indebtedness of substance and plot, of incident and phrase, between poem and poem; (2) to establish the sequence of certain members of the series; (3) to illustrate the repeated use of the same sources in different parts; (4) to trace the origins of many passages to the actual manuscript the poet used; and (5) even to point out in the poet's own handwriting on the margins of his manuscript the primal adumbration of future poetical concepts.

The argument affirms a clear sequence in four of the five poems first dealt with, based not only on numberless passages of parallel, but on passages which equally involve reminiscence and necessitate conclusions of priority in production. To put an A B C case—let A be a certain manuscript; B C D E F and G be poems of the first set; H be another manuscript; and I J K L M and N be poems of the second set. E and G are historically assigned to Huchown: the rest are anonymous. The argument affirms connection not only of D as directly dependent from C and of E as directly dependent from D, but also of D E and F as clearly related to C and B and to each other, as well as of F particularly with G. It affirms that B and C were translations probably both made from manuscript A, and that indubitably F rose directly out of C.

A in this diagrammatic statement is MS. T. 4. 1: B, *Alexander*: C, *Troy*: D, *Titus*: E, *Morte Arthure*: F, *Parlement*: G, *Gaywayne*: H, MS. U. 7. 25: I, *Wynneke and Wastoure*: J, *Erkenwald*: K, *Awntyrs*: L, *Pearl*: M, *Cleanness*: N, *Patience*.

Of the second set the argument affirms manuscript H with marginal notes to be the centre. It affirms that C, D, E, F, and G of the first set have direct relation to the margins of H. It affirms that of the second set I, J, K, L, M, and N show numerous cross-relations with each other and with the first set. It affirms that the plot of I, not a little of J, and intimations in M are all explained by the margins of H. It affirms other cross-links also, including the indebtedness of J, K, and L to the same legend for their plots.

Such is the outline of the process of colligation to be seen detailed in the following chapters. The numberless parallels impossible as mere coincidences are equally impossible as plagiarisms by one or more poets from

others. Again and again the grouping of sources and plots demonstrates unity. A thousand threads start and meet and cross and unite again in the mighty network, which is the proof of one man's authorship of these twelve poems.

The bold suggestion to prove a sequence in certain of those poems must begin with the admission that serious difficulty attaches to certain of them. Huchown's performances fall into the categories of (1) sheer translation, (2) biblical stories expanded, (3) other religious and allegorical pieces, and (4) historical or quasi-historical poems which are partially adaptations of Latin and French originals added to and combined with each other, but blending into what in sum is essentially new creative effort. Let it not be thought that these four categories represent a chronological process. Yet it will be maintained that two works falling into the first category indubitably preceded two of the fourth, and that these again were followed by one of the third. The two sheer translations in question, which stand at the threshold of the interpretation of Huchown, are the *Wars of Alexander* and the *Destruction of Troy*, and our scrutiny must begin with the probable source of these.

5. HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, I.

In the Hunterian Library of Glasgow University is contained a royal octavo volume of about 340 folios of parchment written in one hand (probably soon after 1356), and containing text filling 7 in. by 4½ in. per page of thirty-six lines. The scribe's name is indicated on fo. 126^b by a red ink note—*Nomen Scriptoris Ricardus plenus amoris: fframpton*. The scribe himself wrote a table of contents on the verso of the fly-leaf:

In hoc volumine continentur libri qui subsequenter intitulantur videlicet

- ¶ Liber de historia destruccionis Trojane urbis editus per magistrum Guidonem Iudicem de Columpna Messana folio primo
- ¶ Liber de gestis magni Regis Alexandri tocus orbis Conquestoris folio Cxxvij°
- ¶ Liber qui intitulatur Itinerarium domini Turpini Archiepiscopi Rauensis de gestis magni Regis Karoli folio Clxxj°

- ¶ Liber domini Marci Pauli de Veneciis de condicionibus & consuetudinibus orientalium regionum fol Ciiij^{xx} xvij^o Qui distinguitur in tres libellos quorum primus sic incipit Tempore quo Baldewynus &c. folio Ciiij^{xx} xvij^o Secundus sic incipit In huius libri continencia &c. folio CCxix^o Tercius libellus sic Pars tertia libri nostri &c. folio CCxliij^{to}
- ¶ Liber fratris Odorici de foro Julij de ritibus & condicionibus Turcorum & Tartarorum folio CClx^o
- ¶ Liber qui intitulatur Itinerarium Johannis Maundeuille militis de sancto Albano in Comitatu hertford. de mirabilibus diversarum provinciarum regionum & insularum Aceciam de diuersis legibus & condicionibus sectis & linguis earundem folio CCiiij^{xx} j^o

The copy of Guido de Columpna's *Historia destructionis Trojane Urbis* bears to be a version or edition of 1354. The Maundeville's *Itinerarium* contains in its text the date 1356. The *Liber de gestis magni regis Alexandri* is a copy of the *De Preliis Alexandri* of the Archpriest Leo. Between ff. 29^b and 30 a quaternion of six folios is missing from the MS.

A series of remarkable correspondences, of which the chief will be set forth in future sections, led to the publication in the *Athenæum*, on 12th May and 16th June, 1900, of an essay on 'Huchown's (?) Codex,' in which numerous proofs were advanced for the belief indicated by the title of the paper. To that essay reference may be made for other particulars of a manuscript which is assuredly of profound importance for the study of certain alliterative poems.

6. 'THE WARS OF ALEXANDER.'

Telling the wonderful tale of Alexander the Great—the story not of authentic history, but of Egyptian romance—the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* was a Greek work full of marvels. It put into definite literary shape a mass of the matter floating about in legend concerning a career which had much to astonish and perplex the oriental mind. Afterwards the name of *Julius Valerius* became attached to a translation of that work into Latin, and yet later a third work called the *De Preliis Alexandri* gained wide currency.

These two Latin books struck the fancy of Europe, and being diffused everywhere, helped to create that 'matter' of Alexander which was to furnish a theme for minstrels innumerable. A vast literature grew up extending itself to England and Scotland. The most outstanding contribution to it in France was the *Roman d'Alexandre* by Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay towards the close of the twelfth century, supplemented at the very beginning of the fourteenth century by the *Voeux du Paon* of Jacques de Longuyon, and by later works which do not concern the present object. Subsequently we shall have occasion to revert to the *Voeux du Paon*. A rendering of the *De Preliis*, the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* is a translation in a very strict sense, except for an introductory passage in which the theme is proposed in lines noteworthy for their variation from the rest of the poem in that alliterations of successive lines are upon the same letter.

The story¹ is of the wizard Anectanabus, the exiled king of Egypt, of his becoming the father of Alexander the Great by Olympias, wife of Philip of Macedon, and thereafter of Alexander's own career. He grows up skilled in all scholarly and soldierly accomplishments, and soon sets out on that world-conquering march which, passing from Europe to Asia, led to India, and placed him on a Babylonian throne. Just as the time was reached for the final episode—the poisoning and death of the Macedonian conqueror—the defective manuscript abruptly fails us in the middle of the strange list of peoples whom his arms had subdued. In the existing lines the bulk of the tale is duly narrated; the marvels of Alexander's marches are recorded with much spirit and dignity—his adventures in the wilds by Euphrates and Tigris, in serpent-haunted deserts and mountains, and in numberless battles with eastern peoples, especially with Darius of Persia and Porus the Indian Prince. Nor less

¹ On the legend generally see Prof. Zacher's *Pseudocallisthenes*, 1867; M. Paul Myer's great work *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française*, Paris, 1886; Dr. Wallis Budge's *History of Alexander the Great*, 1889; Professor Dario Carraroli's *La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno*, Mondovi, 1892; Professor George Saintsbury's *Flourishing of Romance*, Edinburgh, 1897. The legend was well known in Scotland. See Wyntoun, especially bk. iv. 1262.

interesting are his gallant correspondence with the Queen of the Amazons and his exchange of views on social philosophy with Dindimus, the learned Brahmin.

A few words will recapitulate the singular proofs of direct association between this alliterative poem and the rare, if not, as is at present supposed, absolutely unique manuscript version of the *De Preliis Alexandri* found in the MS. T. 4, I. of the Hunterian Library in Glasgow University. In editing the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* (hereinafter styled the *Alexander*) in 1886, Prof. Skeat remarked upon the large number of variances between its terms and those of the normal Latin texts of the *De Preliis*. There were unexplained forms of names, discrepancies of the narrative, and peculiar additions to it, which, while sometimes intelligible as idiosyncrasies of the translator, at other times aroused question regarding the textual sources from which the translator worked. Peculiarities included the mention of the name of Anectanabus generally as Anec, Parthia as Panthy, Hellada as Elanda, Cyrus as Cusys, Zephrus as Zephall, Ocean as Mocian, Ceres as Serenon. These forms did not occur in the normal Latin texts. They all occur in the Hunterian MS. among numerous other agreements where Prof. Skeat had noted divergences from the current text. A list¹ follows:

FO.	HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, I.	'WARS OF ALEX.'	LINE.
127-9	Anec	Anec	passim
127	Artaxenses	Artaxenses	49
127	Panti	Panthy	87
127	Siches	Sychim	89
127	Bactria	Batary	93
128b	cursus	bounde (<i>cursus</i>). See Prof. Skeat's note	427
130b	Siciliam	Cecile	2103
130b	Ysamiam	Ysanna	2106
130b	Persopulus nuncupatur in qua sunt muse	Persopole	2112
131	Abbrandian, Abbrandante	Abandra	2131
131	Biothiam	Wyothy	2150
131	Trigagantes	Tegarantes	2174

¹ For fuller particulars see my article entitled '*Huchow's (?) Codex*' in *Athenaeum*, 12th May, 1900. Cf. Prof. Skeat's notes to *Alexander* throughout.

FO.	HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.	'WARS OF ALEX.'	LINE.
131b	Zachora	Zacora	2179
131b	Cetus	Sechus	2215
131b	Cicisterus	Sicistrus	2234
131b	Hismon	Hismon	2237
132	Clitomachus	Cletomachus	2251
132	Satrasageras	Strasageras	2298
132b	Eschilus	Eschilus	2348
132b	Domesten	Domystyne	2352
132b	Serxes	Sexes	2361
134	Sicilie	Sycile (for Cilicia)	2487
134	Oriater	Oriathire	2512
134	Elandam	Elanda (for Hellada)	2514
134b	Appolomades	Appolomados	2529
134b	Maciana	Mocian (for Ocean)	2540
136b	Puphagonie	Siphagoyne	2759
136b	Nostandi	Nostanda	2773
137	Rodogoris	Rodogars	2819
137b	Emulus	Emynelaus	2875
137b	Struma	Strama	2884
138	Anapo	Anepo	2955
138b	Serxeri	Sexeres	2994
140b	Cusis	Cusys (for Cyrus)	3219
141b	Cusis	Cusus	3326
142b	Byson	Besan	3428
142b	Anabrades	Anabras	3428
145b	Butrianca	Batriane	3782
145b	Zepphilus	Zephall	3800
147	Battriancis	Bactry	3950
147	Addontrucay	Adanttrocay	3927
147	mures magni et (read <i>ut</i> as in sentence just following) vulpes	[mys] as any mayn foxes	3932
	aves magni ut vultures	as vowntres	3945
148	Exidrases	Exidrases	4020
148b	Hemaur	Eumare	4103
152	Cerenon, Cernoni [This capital C is easily misread for S.]	Serenon (for Ceres)	4510
154	Acrea	Acrea	4720
157	Prescioca	Preciosa (for Prasiaca)	5080
158	Rex Bebricorum	King of Bebrike	5151
157	Seraptus	Caraptos (for Caratros)	5094
159	Carator	Caratros	5337
159b			5343
162	Nabuzanda	Nabizanda	5613

Similarly the list of two-and-twenty kings whom Alexander walled up with Gog and Magog coincides with the Hunterian MS. almost absolutely. Here is the collection giving, first, the name in the MS., and, second, that in the poem: 1. Gog, Gogg; 2. Magog, Magogg; 3. Agethani, Agekany; 4. Mageen, Magen; 5. Camaranani, Camour; 6. Chaconi, Cacany; 7. Cleathar, Olaathere; 8. Appodinari, Appedanere; 9. Lumi, Limy; 10. Rarisei, Raryfey; 11. Bedeni, Bedwyn; 12. Camante de bello, Clambert; 13. Almade, Almade; 14. Gamardi, Gamarody; 15. Anaffragi, Anafrage; 16. (probably an *alias* for the fifteenth king) qui dicitur Rinocephali, Ser Napy (?); 17. Tarbo, Tarbyn; 18. Alanis, Alane; 19. Phileys, Filies; 20. Artinei, Artencus; 21. Martinei, Marthyney; 21. Saltarir, Saltary.

There are twenty-seven *passus* in the alliterative poem, nineteen of which correspond to divisions at the same points in the Hunterian MS. Not least curious is the list of Alexander's conquests found in the Hunterian MS., fo. 162-162b, though wanting in normal versions. It accounts for thirty names of provinces found in the catalogue of tributary realms at the end of the alliterative poem—those so indicated being here printed in italics:

Panthus et Medus Indus michi servit et Arabs
Asinus Cilicus quoque Mesopotania Persa
Italus Ebreus gens aspera Camaneorum:
Ethiopum gentes Macedonia Grecia Cyprum:
ffemineum regnum Libinus liberrimus Ysaurus
Affricus et Sardus Smuraus (?) Pamphilia Landus:
Effesim Curux locus simul et Philadelphus:
 Maurus immundus populus ditissimus Monthoch'
Anglicus et Scotus Britonum quoque super caterina:
Islandus Flandrus Coruealis et quoque Norguey:
 Theodomicus *ffrancus* Guandalia Gallia tota
Ispannus sponte michi flexit nunc sua colla
 Romanus populus ferax et doctus in armis
 Se michi supponunt [*blank*] sine crimine *Rusci*
 Apulus et *Colaber* simul michi munera donat
 Sinchus Yrtinus *Hermenia* barbarus ordo
 Bulga[r]us Albanus venostus Dalmacus Ystir
Hungarus et Frigijs Bacynt servicia Bosus.
 Cun[c]ta michi subsunt, michi Jupiter imperat unus.¹

¹ The foregoing list of peoples is not in the fifteenth century prints of the *De Preliis*, nor is it in the edition of 1885 by Dr. Gustav Landgraf. Since first printing the list in

Comparison with the poem reveals one striking fact, viz., that of the alliterative groups or pairs: (1) Flanders and France, (2) Guienne [Garnad] and Greece, (3) Norway and Naverne, (4) Bayonne and Bordeaux, (5) Turkey and Tartary, and (6) Pers and Pamphilia, all in the poem (ll. 5656-77), only the first and the last have both their members in the list. The other four are in varying degree intrusions, not translations, thereby giving piquancy to the recurrence of the whole six groups in the *Morte Arthure* (ll. 30-46 and 572-604). Thus, equally when he was truly translating and when he was amplifying his text, the alliterative poet hit on combinations also found in the *Morte Arthure*. Moreover, although one line in the Alexander poem reads

Ingland Itaile and Ynde and Ireland costis,

there is no mention of Scotland. The alliterative translator chose to retain England in, thrust Ireland into, and exclude Scotland from the catalogue of realms owing tribute to Alexander.

Finally, and perhaps of the most significant note, is an intrusion into the text of the *Alexander*, perspicuously commented upon by Professor Skeat. The normal Latin text of the *De Preliis* mentions certain rocks of adamant, but the alliterative translation adds a feature of its own, viz., two lines descriptive of the quality ascribed to those rocks of drawing nails out of ship's bottoms.

If any Nave to it neȝe¹ that naylid is with iryn
Then clevys it ay to the clife carryg and othyre.

This proposition, as the learned professor acutely noted, though absent from the Latin text of the *De Preliis*, was in Maundeville's *Itinerarium*. The value of Professor Skeat's annotation was greatly enhanced when it was pointed out that although in the Hunterian MS. of the *De Preliis* the passage about the danger to ships from adamant rocks was absent also, the Hunterian MS. included a copy of Maundeville's *Itinerarium*. These and other reasons led to the proposition that the Hunterian codex must have been the

the *Athenacum* I came upon a slightly different version of it in the Advocates' Library MS. 18.4.9 in the poetical *Historia Alexandri* by Wilkinus of Spoleto, written in 1236. Regarding this poem, M. Paul Meyer has been most courteous in referring me to sources of information in addition to those specified in his *Alexandre le Grand*, tome second, p. 40.

¹This ȝ or 'yok' letter I have rendered as *gh*, *y*, *g*, or *z*, except in a few special cases where the actual letter was necessary.

identical MS. used by the poet, more especially as further correspondences scarcely less extraordinary were found when the copy, which the MS. contained of the *De Excidio Troje*, was compared with the alliterative poem, the *Destruction of Troy*.

7. 'THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY.'

Like the *Alexander*, the alliterative *Destruction of Troy* (henceforth cited as the *Troy*) is a direct and ordinarily faithful translation. Just as in the East there arose away from history altogether a legendary life of Alexander, so in the East arose also¹ a story of Troy different from Homer's. The blind father of bards had of course told the deathless story from the Greek standpoint. This did not satisfy the craving of some minds for the other side, and the strange books of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis were produced which in some degree redressed the balance, and so far traversed Homer's path as to exalt Hector at the expense of Achilles, and attribute the stratagem of the horse and the fall of Troy directly or indirectly to the treason of Antenor and Aeneas. These Latin and revised versions passed widely forth: Homer was unknown or forgotten. A French trouvère, Benoît de Sainte More, wrote his *Roman de Troie* from the Latin sources, and from that romance Guido de Columpna, in the year 1287, made his Latin prose version which at once became a popular history book in the literature of Europe. There was poetic vigour in the prose unquestionably, and its rendering of that picturesque theme,

The batayle of Troy that was so stought,

took hold of Europe as even Dares and Dictys had never done. Thus it came that Huchown's *Troy* was a product of Guido's *Troja*, the same work as John Barbour also was soon to be translating, and as John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, was to translate.

Guido's tale of Troy is fully rehearsed in the 14,044 lines of the alliterative translation. There are a good many signs of carelessness, perhaps

¹An excellent sketch of the Troy Cycle in medieval literature is given by Dr. C. H. A. Wager in his introduction to *The Siege of Troye* (New York, 1899), edited from MS. Harl. 525, by him.

to be allotted equally to the translator and the scribes. Myrion, for instance, is killed no fewer than four times in the course of the interminable battles. The narrative rises and falls, at points showing full of sustained vigour, elsewhere marching somewhat mechanically, but assuredly it has many noble passages, and in general power of language and deftness of epithet is on the merits¹ an entirely dignified and worthy rendering.

The rubrics or subdivisions of the poem proved in a striking proportion of cases to be directly associated with the rubrics of the *De Excidio Troje* contained in the Hunterian MS. These rubrics are, many of them, very special, for an examination of a great number of copies of Guido's book in the MSS. of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library failed to disclose any single one which displayed any such measure of consonance as that exhibited by the Hunterian MS.²

The correspondences are of the most thorough character, and the following comparison of a large body of them will enable the critic to note the differences as well as the resemblances. First, however, it is to be said that the rendering of Guido used by the scribe was an Italian edition or version by Johannulus de Borrezio in 1354, as appears from a colophon on fo. 126.

u

"Et ego Johannulus [*o* expuncted and *u* substituted] de Borrezio Cancellarius ecclesie Sancti Victoris de Arsizate Mediolanen. dioc. hoc presens opus in Beate Agnetis festo finivi Anno domini millesimo tricentesimo quinquagesimo quarto pontificatus sanctissimi patris et domini nostri domini Innocencii Pape vi. anno secundo Et cicius enim complevissem nisi quia in Reverendissimi in Xpo. patris et domini mei domini Guill'mi de Pusterla permissione divina sanete sedis Constantinopolitan. patriarche ejus familiaris minimus existo negociis plurimum vacavi utpote sibi nec innerito perpetim obligatus.

This text has very many rubrics of its own. Some of those quoted below are common to other manuscripts as well. Many of them are believed to be peculiar to Borrezio's version, of which meantime no other copy appears to be known.

¹ I gladly pay homage to the critical taste of my friend, Mr. J. T. T. Brown, in long ago directing me to this alliterative work as containing much high-class poetry despite the adverse verdicts of critics, and as being Huchown's handiwork.

² Further particulars are given in 'Huchown's(?) Codex,' *Athenaeum*, 16th June, 1900.

HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.		<i>Alliterative</i> 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.'	
Folio.			Line.
1	Incipit prologus . . .	Prologue.	1
1b	Explicit prologus. Incipit liber de casu Troje primo de Peleo rege Thessalie inducente Jasonem . . . ad vellus aureum adquirendum.	Explicit Prologue. Here begynnes the first Boke. How Kyng Pelleus exit Jason to get the files of Golde.	98 99
4	Incipit liber secundus de . . . Grecis applicatis in pertinenciis Troje. . .	[Lost in text, but supplied from contents, p. v.] The ii ^d boke how the Grekes toke lond upon Troy. Cawse of the first debate.	
6	[Passage corresponding to l. 373.] Qualiter Rex Oetes honorifice Jasonem . . . recepit et qualiter Medea . . . amore Jasonis fuit capta.	Jason. The crafte of Medea. The soden hote love of Medea.	373 402 449
8	Sicut primo loquitur Jasoni Medea.	Medea.	521
8	Responsio Jasonis ad verba Medee.	The onsuare of Jason to Medea.	551
8b	Alia verba Medee ad Jasonem.	Medea.	560
8b	Alia responsio Jasonis ad Medeam.	The onsuare of Jason to Medea.	577
9	Qualiter Jason et Medea. . .	Medea.	637
9	Incipit liber tercius. . .	Third Boke: how Medea enformed Jason to get the filese of golde.	665
11	Res et ipsarum series date Jasoni per Medeam pro aureo vellere acquirendo. . .		
14b	Incipit liber quartus.	Here begynneth the fourth boke. Of the dystuacion of the first Troy by Ercules and Jason.	1010
15	Qualiter Grecorum exercitus Jasonis et Herculis Troje . . . civitatem illam primo diruerunt.		
15b	Verba Herculis. . .	Ercules.	1121
18	Qualiter Greci . . . inrant ipsam urbem.	The takyng of the towne.	1353
18b	. . . Exionam Regis Laumedonte filiam. . .	Exiona the Kinges doughter Lamydon.	1385
19b	De Priamo . . . & filiis. . .	Off King Pryam and his children.	1461
21b	De constructione mirabili magni Ylion. . .	The makyng of Ylion.	1629
22b	Qualiter Rex Priamus misit Antenor legatum ad Grecos pro Exiona. . .	How Antenor went on message to the Grekys.	1780
24b	. . . Incipit liber vi ^{us}	Here begynnes the Sext Boke: How Kyng Priam toke counsell to Werre on the Grekys.	2047
25	Qualiter rex Priamus . . . consulit suam mittere gentem . . . pro . . . Grecorum offensione (l. 2095).		
25b	Quomodo Priamus hortatur . . . filios.	Off counsell of the Kynges children.	2157

HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, I.		<i>Alliterative</i> 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.	
Folio.			Line.
26	Responsio Hectoris ad Priamum patrem suum et quomodo pruden- ter suum dedit consilium.	The onsuare and the counsell of Ector to Priam his ffader.	2207
27	Consilium Paridis. . . .	The counsell of Paris Alexaunder.	2306
28	Consilium Deyphobi. . . .	The counsell of Deffebus.	2449
28b	Consilium Eleni. . . .	The counsell of Elinus the Bysshop.	2478
28b	. . . Quid consulit Troiolus. . . .	The counsell of Troylus.	2523
29	Quomodo Rex Priamus jubet Paridi . . . ut pergat . . . in Grecia. . . .	The ordinaunse for Paris into Grese.	2561
29b	Sicut loquitur Pethiteus. [This name is corrupt in many MSS.]	The counsell of Protheus.	2619
30	Qualiter Cassandra regis Priami filia condolet. . . .	The sorow of Cassandra the Kyngys doughter.	2676
32	Qualiter Paris primo vidit Helenam	The fairnes of Elan.	3019
35b	Qualiter Helena. . . .	Elan.	3385
36b	De Grecis inchoantibus inire consilia . . . de raptu Helene . . . incipit liber viij ^{us}	Eight Boke. Of the counsell of the Grekys ffor recoveryng of Elayne.	3532
37	Qualiter Agamenon consolatur Mene- laum. . . .	The counsell of Agamynon to Mene- lay.	3584
37b	. . . Pollux et Castor paraverunt naufragium. . . .	The drownynge of Pollux and Castor.	3673
38	Descripcio Grecorum qui fuerunt super Trojam (l. 3732).	The shape and colour of the Kynges of Grece.	3741
40b	De numero navium quas Greci dux- erunt . . . liber viiij ^{us}	Neynt Boke. Of the Nowmber of Shippes and the Navy of the Grekys.	4029
41	Exhortacio Agamenonis contra Grecos et primo voluit habere responsum a deo Appollinis in insula Delphon liber x ^{us}	Tent Boke. How the Grekes sent unto Delphon to have onsware of a God of thayre Journey.	4140
42b	Qualiter ydolatria in mundo primo venit.	Off Beall the god and Belsabub.	4332
44b	Responsum datum Achilli.	The answare of Appollo to Achilles.	4475
47b	Qualiter Agamenon Rex locutus est Grecis de mittendo nuncios Regi Priamo antequam plus procedant Li. xij ^{us}	xiith Boke. How the Grekys sent two Kinges in message to Kyng Priam for restitucion of thaire harme.	4783
50b	De Grecis mittentibus Achillem et Thelaphum pro victualibus eorum exercitui opportunis. Li. xiiij ^{us}	xiiij Boke. How the Grekys sent Achilles and Thelephon for vitaill for the Ost into Messam.	5152

Folio.	HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.	<i>Alliterative</i> 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.'	Line.
53	Descriptio illorum qui in subsidium venere Trojanorum.	Of the Kynges that come to Troy for socur of Priam.	5432
54b	Quomodo Diomedes quedam discreta verba profudit de processu.	The Counsell of Dyamede to stirre to the cite.	5590
58b	De secundo bello. . . . Li. xv ^{us}	xv Boke. Of the Ordinaunce of the Troiens to the secund batell.	6065
66b	De tercio bello . . . Lib. xvi ^{us}	xvi Boke. Of a trew takyn two moneths, and of the third batell.	7125
68b	De quarto bello . . . Li. xvij ^{us}	xvij Boke. Of the Counsell of the Grekes for the Dethe of Ector and the iiij th batell.	7346
70b	De quinto bello. . . . Li. xviii ^{us}	xviii th Boke of the fyvet batell in the felde.	7553
72	De sexto bello . . . Li. xviij ^{us}	xix Boke. Of the vi. batell.	7811
74	Nota de inconstancia mulierum. [This does not seem to be in the scribe's hand, but is a coeval owner's ejaculation.]	[Li. 8055-67, paragraph on female fickleness.]	
75b	De septimo bello . . . liber vice- simus.	The xx Boke. Of the vij th Batell and Skarmiches. . . .	8183
77b	Ille fuit preliatum per xij dies con- tinue sequentes.	Here thai faght twelve dayes to- gedur. [This is an exceedingly special sub- rubric.]	8403
78	De viij ^o bello. [This is not numbered as a book, and a failure, probably due to this, occurs in the consecutiveness, there being no number xxij in the Latin.]	The xxi Boke. Of the viij Batell. [From this point the numbering of the translation and the Latin ceases to correspond.]	8421
81	Qualiter Agamemnon mortuo Hectore jussit majores Grecorum ad se venire et quomodo loquitur eisdem.	The counsall of Agamenon after the dethe of Ector.	8826
82	De nono bello . . . liber xxiij ^{us}	Here begynneth the xxiij Boke: the ellevynt Batell of the Cite.	8971
83	Qualiter ille metuendus Achilles fuit allaqueatus amore.	The solempnite of the obit of Ector and how Achilles fell in the momurdotes for luff.	9089
86	De decimo bello . . . Li. xxvj ^{us} [begins <i>Induciis igitur datis</i> .]	Here begynnys the xxiij Boke: of the xij and xiiij batell.	9400
87b	De undecimo bello [begins <i>Sequenti vero die Trojane</i>].	xxiiij Boke: Of the xiiij and xv batell of the Cite.	9628

HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.		Alliterative 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.'	Line.
Folio.			
88	De duodecimo bello [begins <i>Sequenti vero die inter.</i>]	The answare of Achilles to Ulyxes	
88b	Qualiter Achilles respondit Ulixi.	the Kyng.	9743
89b	De tercio decimo bello . . . Lib. xxvij ^{us}	xxv Boke : Off the Sextene and the xvij batell.	9864
89b	De quarto decimo bello.		
90b	De quinto decimo bello. [The Latin rubrics skip from the fifteenth to the eighteenth battle. The translating poet therefore is somewhat nonplussed.]	Of xvij and the xix batell. Here thai faght vij dayes togedur, that ys not recont : no batell.	9675 10116
91b	De xvij ^o bello [begins <i>Hiis igitur diebus clapsis letate.</i>]	The xxvi Boke. Of the xvij batell of the Cite. [In this important rubric the editors of the poem have, as they explain in a marginal note, printed "(xx)" as the number of the battle. Their note is, however, distinct (and accords with the fact of the MS. of the <i>Destruction</i>) in stating that the "MS. has xviii."]]	10133
92b	De xviii bello . . . [begins <i>Belli tempus hiis.</i>]	The dethe of Troilus by Achilles	10252
95	De xx ^o bello [begins <i>Sextodecimo igitur die.</i>]	trayturly slayne in the xxj batell. Off the xx ^{ti} batell. [Again editors print '(xxii)' but note 'MS. has xx ^{ti} ']	10629
96b	. . . liber xxvij ^{us} (l. 10790).	The xxvj Boke. Of xxj Batell . . .	10788
97	De vicesimo primo bello (l. 10863) [begins <i>Ad iussum.</i>]		
97b	De vicesimo secundo bello (l. 10913) [begins <i>Pantasilea.</i>]	The xxij and xxij batell of the Cite.	10950
98b	De vicesimo tercio bello et de morte Pantasilee per Pirrum interfecte (l. 11079) [begins <i>Superuenientibus.</i>]	Here they faght a monethe. The deth of Pantasilea by Pirrus.	11079 11103
99	De tractatu seu prodicione Civitatis Troje Incipit liber xxvij ^{us}	The xxvij Boke : Of the Counsell of Eneas and Antenor. Of the treason of the Cite.	
104	De capcione et destruccione Troje et de morte Regis Priami et Polisene ejus filie. Li. xxx ^{us}	The ordinaunce of the trybute.	11717
107	Qualiter Agamenon loquitur Grecis . . .	The counsell of the Grekes.	12015

Folio.	HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.	Alliterative 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.' Line.
108b	Qualiter destructa urbe Troje Thelamonius Ajax loquitur contra Vlixem occasione Paladii liber tricesimus primus.	The xxx Boke : Of stryfe of Thelamon and Ulixes and of the dethe of Thelamon. 12165
112	Sequitur quomodo mortuus est Agamenon liber xxxij ^{us}	The xxxij Boke : Of the Lesyng that was made to Kyng Nawle, and of dethe of his son Palomydon. 12552
	[Numbering of books tallies once more. As to a confusion in the numbering of the books in the alliterative poem, see note by editors (pref. liii-iv) on displacement of two sets of folios of the MS.].	Off the dethe of Agamynon and the exile of Dyamede by there wyvys for this lettur. 12727
115b	Qualiter Horrestes . . . patris . . . necem . . . vindicavit Liber tricesimus tercius.	Here begynnes the xxxiij Boke. How Oreste toke vengianse for his fader dethe. 12937
117	Sequitur narracio de reditu Ulixis et quid ei in redeundo contingit.	The xxxiiij Boke. How hit happit Ulixes aftur the sege. 13106
119b	De reditu Pirri et ejus prospero successu ac de morte sua sequitur narracio Lib. xxxiiij ^{us}	The xxxv Boke : Of Pyrrus and of his passyng from Troy. 13388 Off the coronyng of Pyrrus and of his dethe. 13635
122b	Qualiter Ulixes mortuus est subse- quenter enarratur : liber xxxv ^{us}	The xxxvi Boke. Of the dethe of Ulixes by his son. 13802

Textually, as the various versions of Guido's *Historia* exhibit few crucial tests for identification of their distinctions, it is not easy to devise methods of decisive collation. Yet a few very cogent instances can be adduced. Besides the mere facts of agreement in so many rubrics, not found in any print or MS. of Guido accessible to me, there is specially the agreement in the numbering of the books above illustrated—a matter on which there is considerable divergence in different texts. In the list of kings whom Hector slew, the poem put 'Archilocus' (or Arcesilaus) first. All the prints, and the greater number of the manuscripts of Guido, put him fourth or fifth in the list, which comes ultimately from Dares Phrygius (Teubner, 1873, praef. ix.). But the Hunterian Guido (fo. 125), like the poem (l. 14,008) places Archilocus first. There are, on the other hand, such elements as the presence of 'Beelzebub' (l. 4357) in the poem, where the Hunterian MS. (fo. 43) has *Beelin Abach Bel i. deus Zabuch i. musca hoc*

deus muscarum—though printed editions have 'Beelzebub'—which make it possible that the poet-translator had access to more copies than one of this widely current work. Although the very extraordinary correspondences exhibited might not suffice to constitute the proof single-handed, they yet when placed in conjunction with the similar and still more striking correspondences of the *Alexander* with the same Hunterian MS. enable us to start with a presumption little short of absolute that the translator of the *Alexander* and the translator of the *Troy*, whether the same person or not, at any rate used the same manuscript—a manuscript the earliest possible date of which is 1356, the year in which the *Itinerarium* of Maundeville is, in the text of the MS. itself,¹ declared to have been written.

How the presumption of two translations from the same manuscript stands the test of being carried a degree further to the inference that the user of the MS. was the maker of both translations will best appear from the analysis now to be undertaken of certain poems with the primary view of determining their relation and order of date.² The *Troy*, there is good reason to maintain,³ was quoted in Scotland by Barbour in 1376.

8. 'TITUS AND VESPASIAN,' ITS STORY, SOURCES, AND DATE.

(1) *The Story and General Sources.*

Indications, which may be left to the critic to accept or reject as he pleases, suggest with some distinctness that the *Troy* was not written till after the *Alexander*. While wishing to be taken as comparatively tentative my opinion of the priority of the *Alexander* to the *Troy*, I advance as

¹ A great mystery hangs over Maundeville. This must have been an early copy: it differs from other texts, and will reward study by some lover of the charming *Itinerary*. Sir Hew of Eglington was in London in 1358. His getting the MS. in that year is not beyond the bounds of legitimate speculation.

² It is proper to recall the fact that in editing the *Troy* Mr. Panton and Mr. David Donaldson argued very forcefully that its translator and the author of *Morte Arthure* were one.

³ Cf. *Troy*, 12969-74, 2734-8, 1056-64, and Barbour's *Bruce*, v. 1-13, xvi. 63-71, and *Book of Alexander*, p. 107, ll. 1-12, p. 248, ll. 16-26. See *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, 9-13.

an absolute and unhesitating conclusion the view that the *Troy* was followed by a poem variously known as the *Titus and Vespasian* or as *The Sege of Jerusalem*, or as the *Warris of the Jewis*—henceforward cited as *Titus*.

Although critics heretofore have busied themselves with the question of the authorship of the *Troy*, while some have supposed it to date after *Morte Arthure*, while some have given the *Troy* to Huchown, and while others have refused it, no one has yet set forward¹ the great fact of the connection between these two alliterative poems constituted by a third alliterative poem, the *Titus*, whose authorship till now has not been claimed. It is the key to *Morte Arthure*, the link which binds it in indissoluble association with the *Troy*, and determines finally the order of production.

The *Titus* found in one MS. in company with a poem in the precise metre of the *Pistill of Susan* contains in the only available printed text 1332 lines, not rimed but alliterative, and has for its theme the miraculous cures of Titus and Vespasian and the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem. Founded as regards its earlier incidents in some degree on blended features of early versions of the singular legend of St. Veronica, such as the Latin *Vindicta Salvatoris* and the French *Destruction de Jerusalem*, but largely striking out new lines for itself, the poem soon discloses its direct connection with the *Legenda Aurea*, many passages of which it freely adapts, though with insertions from undiscovered sources and contributions evidently quite original. Another work clearly drawn upon was the *Bellum Iudaicum* of Josephus, no doubt, as Herr F. Kopka has shown,² in the version of Hegesippus. The story tells, at the opening, how Titus is afflicted with a cancer and his father with a settlement of wasps in his nose, from which he took his name Waspasian! Titus, eager in his inquiry after physicians, is told by Nathan, a Jew, of the wondrous life of a prophet born in Bethlehem who wrought many a miracle, and who at last, betrayed by Judas, was put to death by Pilate, the provost of Rome. Titus, touched

¹ The proposition was made in my article 'Huchown' (part I.) in *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1901

² *The Destruction of Jerusalem: ein mittlenglisches alliterierendes Gedicht. Einleitung. Inaugural Dissertation.* Breslau 1887.

by what he hears, breaks out with a sudden expression of sympathy for Christ and censure of His condemnation. Before the words are wholly said the cancer vanishes. The gratefully joyous Titus turns Christian and is baptised. Vespasian learns of the miraculous healing, and vows that if he too shall be cured he will give his life for Christ. Messengers are sent ‘that time Peter was Pope and preachéd in Rome,’ and from Palestine there comes Saint Veronica with the veil on which the Saviour’s face had left its sacred imprint. When this precious relic reaches the temple at Rome the idols of the heathen faith yet prevalent there crash in pieces. Saint Peter touched with the veil the person of the illustrious patient, ‘the wasps went away and all the woe after,’ and the glad Vespasian christens the veil after Veronica and calls it the Vernacle. The scene now shifts: Romans set sail to make war on the Jews; the holy city is besieged; surrender is demanded in vain, and Vespasian, foiled to some extent by the warlike ingenuity of Josephus, strives long and unsuccessfully to take Jerusalem. Meanwhile Nero dies; after Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, at last Vespasian is chosen successor. He departs for Rome and leaves the siege to be prosecuted by Titus. Famine and distress accelerate that task; eleven hundred thousand Jews die by sword and hunger; the walls are stormed; and the stubborn defenders starved till their stomachs, as the poet expressively puts it, are ‘no greater than a greyhound,’ lay down their arms, and doffing their armour, yield their gates ‘in their bare shirts.’ The jewelled splendours of Solomon’s sanctuary are carried away, and as a Jew had sold Christ ‘for thirty pennies in a poke,’ now the prisoners of Titus, bound together with ropes, were sold—‘thirty Jews in a thrum’—at a penny for thirty. And then the long siege was raised, and the victors ‘went singing away’ homeward to Rome, as ends our poet—‘Now rede us our Lord.’

(2) *The ‘Titus,’ the ‘Troy,’ and the ‘Alexander.’*

This remarkable *Titus*, in parts of it not taken from any of the Latin or French sources above named, includes more than one passage and not a few single lines which it owes directly to the *Troy*. Not only so; in some of those passages and lines there is a double association, for they

connect with the *Alexander* also. In particular the language descriptive of the fall and destruction of Jerusalem in the *Titus* will be shewn to be in part derived from an episode of destruction in the *Troy*, and more remotely from certain siege descriptions in the *Alexander*. Premising that the primary thesis is that the *Titus* is deeply indebted to the *Troy* let us proceed to the scrutiny of parallels.

<i>Alex.</i>	555	Cloudis clenly to-cleve clatird unfaire.	<i>Titus.</i>		
<i>Troy</i>	5787	Cloudis with the clamour claterit above.	54	Cloudes clateren gon as they cleve wolde.	
<i>Troy</i>	1984	A rak and a royde wynde rose in hor saile.	54	The racke myde a rede wynde roos in the myddel.	
<i>Troy</i>	4312	Both mawhounus and mau- mettes myrtild in peeces. Latin has <i>ydolum . . . esset in minutatim abscissum.</i>	233	The mahomid and the mametes to- mortled to peeces.	
<i>Troy</i>	8719	Of wepyng and wayle and wryngyng of hondes.	245-6	Than was wepyng and wo and wryngyng of hondis	
	8679	. . . wryngyng of hond: The dit and the dyn was dole to behold.		With loude dyn and dit for doil of hym one.	
	1347	Of the dite and the dyn was dole to beholde.			
	9611	Myche weping and waile wryngyng of hond.			
<i>Troy</i>	1902	Hade bir at his bake and the bankes levyt.	288	Hadde byr at the bake and the bonke lefte.	
	12490	Hadyn bir at there backe and the bonke levyt.			
<i>Alex.</i>	1151	Tilded full of torretes and toures of defence.	310	With many a toret and tour that toun to defende.	
<i>Troy</i>	1551	Mony toures up tild the toun to defende.			
<i>Troy</i>	5825	. . . the might and the mayn . . .	505	Bothe the myght and the mayn.	
<i>Troy</i>	7619	A thondir with a thicke rayn thrublit in the skewes.	530	As thonder and thicke rayn throwa- land in skyes.	
	12496	A thoner and a thicke rayne thrublet in the skewes. Latin has <i>in multa copia pluviarum ether in toni- truorum aggregacionibus.</i>			

Titus.

- Troy* 1195 Speires unto sprottessprongen
ouer hedes.
Cf. 5783, 6406, 7248, 9666,
11022.
- Alex.* 790 Al to spryngis in sprotis
speres . . .
- Alex.* 786 . . . spakly with speres. . .
- Alex.* 789 Sone into sheverand shidez
shaftez tobristen.
- Aventyrs* 501 Schaftis of schene wode thay
scheverede in schides.
- Alex.* 4766 As gotis out of guttars in
golanand wedres.
- Troy* 9406 He gird hym thurgh the
guttis with a grym spere.
- Troy* 3170 Chaundelers full chefe and
charbokill stones.
- Troy* 11141 All the bent of that birr
bloody beronnen.
- Alex.* 1395 Kenely thai kepe with
castyng of stanes.
- Alex.* 1390 Archers with arowes of atter
envenmonyd.
- Troy.* 4739-41 Schottyn up sharply at the
schene wallis
With glayves and gomes
girdyn doun toures
Dryven up dartes, gyffen
depe woundes.
- Latin has *crebris sagittis em-
issis letaliter vulnerant.*
- Alex.* 1391 Shoton up sharply at salkez
on the wallis.
- Alex.* 1396 Dryves dartez at our dukez
deply thaim wounden.
- Troy* 1647 In cornals by course clustret
oloft.
- Alex.* 1421 And be the kernels wer kest.
- Alex.* 3046 Of arows and of alblastres
that all the ayre bynded.
- 551 Spakly her speres on sprotes they
jeden.
- 552 Scheldes at schidwod on scheldres to
cleven.
- 558 And goates from golde wede as
goteres they runne.
- 564 Girdeth out the guttes with grounden
speres.
- 588 Chair and chaundelers and charbokel
stones.
- 597 So was the bent ouer brad bloody
byrunne.
- 619 Kepten kenly with caste the kernels
aloft.
- 652 And arwes arwely with attyr en-
venymyd.
- 664 { Schoten up scharply to the schene
wallis.
- 835 { Dryven dartes a doun geven depe
woundes.
- 673 Kesten at the kernels clustered toures.
- 665 With arwes and arblastes and alle
that harme myght.
- 833 With arwes and arblastes and archers
manye.

To interrupt a little the monotony of parallel will serve a good purpose if it accentuates the next pair of passages. In the *Troy* the Greek camp by night is pictured in words which alike in their modicum of adherence to the Latin text they follow, and in their more notable deviations from it, evince a mastery of poetic art and natural description. One feels that the translator's night was more real than Guido's: yet the passage as a whole is not the alliterative poet's: it gives us Guido *plus* his translator. Accordingly, when we find the same description in the *Titus*, and at the end of it a further line from another part of the *Troy*, where that line is indubitably translation, it ceases to be a matter of argument and establishes itself as ascertained fact that without the previous *Troy* we could have had no *Titus*.

Troy 7348-57.

When the day ouerdrogh and the derk
 enrid,
The sternes full stithly starand oloft,
All merknet the mountens and mores
 about,
The fowles there fethers foldyn togedur,

Nightwacche for to wake, waits to blow ;

Tore fyres in the tenttes tendlis oloft.

All the gret of the Grekes gedrit hom
 somy, n,
Kynges and knyghtes clenest of wit,

Dukes and derffe erles droghen to counsell ;
In Agamynon gret tent gedrit were all.

They had met in counsel how to compass
the death of Hector. Later in the poem
Achilles, scheming revenge on Troilus, found
no rest in his bed.

Troy 10096 And lay in his loge litill
 he sleppit.

Titus 722-31.

By that was the day done, dymned the skyes,

Merked montaynes and mores aboute,

Foules fallen to fote and hier fethres rusken.

The nyght wacche to the walles and waytes
 to blowe,
Bryght fures aboute betyn abrode in the
 oste ;
Chosen chyventayns out and chiden no mor,

Bot charged the chek-weecche and to
 chambr wenten,
Kynges and knyghtes to cacchen hem rest.

Waspasian lyth in his logge, litel he slepith.

Guido's Latin of these two *Troy* passages is

Aspectibus igitur hominum crepusculo succedente stellis per celi spacium undique
patefactis quibus nox que nocet oculis intuencium in aspectibus ceterorum propter sue

tenebras cecitatis aperte vulgavit. Omnes Reges Grecorum duces et principes in ipsius noctis conticinio in Regis Agamenonis tentorio conveniunt.

[Achilles] inquietus sua non appetit claudere lumina in dormicionis consueta quiete.

The effect of this group of lines common to the sieges of Troy and Jerusalem—the alliterative sieges—stands in little need of enforcement. The canon of comparison to which appeal is made is this. Given two passages, one of which must be due to the other; given that one of them is known translation, although expanded somewhat; given that the other is not translation; then if the points in common include things which are real translation, every presumption leads to the conclusion that the translation is the source, and therefore the earlier. It seems axiomatic that the *Troy* lent its night-scene to the *Titus*. And there are yet other parallels to follow. Elsewhere in a discussion of the same sort the proposition was advanced that a poet who repeated the same line more than once in a poem might not unnaturally be found repeating it in another. In this connection, therefore, it is worthy of observation that one of the lines above quoted occurs in another part of the *Troy* as well.

Troy 7809. Merkit the mountayns and mores aboute.

In both instances the darkening of hill and moorland at nightfall is a touch of the translator's own—is exegetic and not literal translation. It is the recurrence of this fact which imports so much more significance into such recurrent lines. Will it not appear strange if from a verse-translation containing 14,000 lines, the borrowings in other poems should so often prove to be not of Guido's matter, but of the translator's? Now we return to our parallels.

Titus.

<i>Troy</i> 10287	Fell was the fight foyning of spears.	815	Fought right felly foyned with speres.
<i>Troy</i> 4753	Fell was the feght. . . .		
<i>Troy</i> 5795	. . . felly . . . foghtyn . . .		
<i>Troy</i> 11956	When the derke was done and the day sprange.	835	See under 664 above
<i>Alex.</i> 1489	. . . bodworde of blis. . . .	850	When the derk was down and the day spryngen.
<i>Alex.</i> 1324	And makez a way wyde enough waynez for to mete.	965	. . . bodeword of blys. . . .
		998	Made weys throw for wenes and cartes.

Titus.

Alex. 2264 And thai als fayne alle the
flote as fowelle of the day.

Alex. 75 . . . oute in the wale stremys.

Troy 6064 . . . Lord giffe us joye.

[End of book xiv.]

Troy 4751-2 Layn ladders alenght and
aloft wonnen

At yche cornell of the castell
was crasshyng of weppon.

Latin has *bellicis scalis appositis letaliter
impetunt et dura debellacione Trojanos
terimunt.*

Troy 11090 Kene was the crie with
crasshyng of weppyn.

Troy 6924 That the blod out brast. . .

Troy 4755-6 Till thai lept of the ladder
light in the dyke.

The brayne oute brast and
the brethe levyt.

Latin has *sternuntur a scalis et volubiliter
ruinosi prevenientes in terra fractis cervi-
cibus vitam exalant.*

Alex. 2153 . . . fey for defaute enfa-
myshyd hys oste.

Troy 3169 Bassons of bright gold and
other brode vessell.

Troy 4774 Mynours then mightely the
moldes did serche.

Troy 4695 Betyne doune the buyldynges
to the bare erthe.

Troy 4777 Betyndoun the buyldynges
and brent into erthe.

Latin has *in facie terre dejectis tam
deiciencium studio quam ignium flammis
voracibus.*

Alex. 3642 Thretti dais on a throme. . .

1005 Fayn as the foul of day was the freke
than.

1017 . . . over wale stremys.

1104 . . . and God gyve us joy.

[End of one of the four divisions of
the poem.]

1186 At eche kernel was cry and quasschyng
of wepne.

1189 Leythe a ladder to the wal and a
lofte clymyth.

1194-5 That the brayn out brast at both nose
thrylles

And Sabyn ded of the dynt into the
diche falleth.

[Sabyn had mounted the ladder.]

1203 Wer ded of that dynt and in the diche
lyghten.

1240 . . . enfamyed for defaute whan hem
fode wanted.

1261 Bassynes of brend gold and other
bryght ger.

1274 Now masons and mynours hav the
molde soughte.

1279 Till alle the cyte was serched and
sought al aboute.

1257 Doun bete the bilde brenne hit in to
grounde.

1285 Bot doun betyn and brent into blake
erth.

1314 Thrytty Jewes in a thrum. . .

From these citations an interesting induction comes. Lines of the *Titus*, containing part of the narrative of the detailed overthrow and desolation of the Holy City, reproduce almost verbatim lines of the *Troy*,

all concerning a side-incident of the 'Trojan story—the assault, defence, capture, and destruction of the castle of Tenedos.

Titus (a) 664, (b) 835, (c) 1189, (d) 1186, (e) 815, (f) 1195.

Troy (a) 4739, (b) 4741, (c) 4751, (d) 4752, (e) 4753, (f) 4755.

Titus (g) 1194, (h) 1274, 1279, (i) 1285.

Troy (g) 4756, (h) 4774, (i) 4777.

Nor ends there the indication from a synthesis of the borrowings, if borrowing it be called. If the fall of Jerusalem points us to Tenedos, it points at the same time to Tyre, for (besides others of minor note) the following lines in the *Titus* connect with the siege of Tyre in the corresponding *Alexander* lines.

Titus (a) 310, (b) 998, (c) 652, (d) 664, (e) 619, (f) 835, (g) 673.

Alex. (a) 1151, (b) 1324, (c) 1390, (d) 1391, (e) 1395, (f) 1396, (g) 1421.

That siege of Tyre! It so singularly unites with authentic history the legendary and romantic after-accretion, which through Lambert li Tors was to furnish a Scottish *locus classicus* in the reference to it made by John Barbour in his vigorous account¹ of the taking of Edinburgh Castle in the spring of the year of Bannockburn.

Not the least curious element of the foregoing comparisons of the capture of Jerusalem with that of Tenedos is the fact that the succession of the lines is almost perfectly the same in both. Those of the *Titus* observe in nine instances out of ten—with only two slight transpositions—the very order of the corresponding lines in the *Troy*. No one is likely to suggest that such an occurrence is a chance coincidence. Even had the fine scene of the midnight camp been wanting, this matter of Jerusalem and Tenedos and Tyre must itself have sufficed to prove the wonderful linking of the three poems.

(3) *Date Indications.*

Traces of contemporary historical and romance elements in *Titus* lead to a suggestion of date. One cannot now call the *Brut* of Geoffrey of

¹ *Bruce*, x. 705-33.

Monmouth a historical source, but the point of view of the fourteenth century was not ours. The poet certainly drew upon the *Brut*¹ for Vespasian's banner with its golden dragon, having under him a four-bladed falchion pointing to the four points of the compass and resting upon a ball of burning gold in sign of conquest of the world. The dragon, moreover, was a special token of the imperial presence—'ther the lord werred'—and of menace. Both of these ideas are outlined by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Two sources in French romance are probable. References to vows (ll. 181, 197, 969, 1001) perhaps carry an air of the *Voeux du Paon*, a poem popular in the middle of the fourteenth century. The shaving of the Roman ambassadors (ll. 355-78), thus maltreated by the Jews as an insult, is an incident not in the general sources of the Veronica legend, and is in all likelihood a transfer from the French romance of *Ogier Danois*, in which four ambassadors of the Emperor Charles, sent to claim homage and tribute of Godfrey of Denmark, are sent back shaven and shorn.

Yet more decisive is the historical hint to be deduced from the summons to surrender Jerusalem, which is answered by the shaving of the imperial 'sondismen.' The Jews, so acting, were returning scorn for scorn, since they had been called upon to submit to Titus in terms of ignominy:

Open-heded alle
Up her zates to zeld with zedres on hande
Eche whight in a white scherte and no wede ellys (*Titus*, 344-6).

In the end, after their long and tragic defence, they can hold out no longer:

Bot up zeden her zates and zelden hem alle
Without brunee and bright wede in her bar chertes (*Titus*, 1233-4).

This cannot well have come from any other quarter than from the surrender of Calais in 1347 to Edward III. The 'floynes'² and 'farcostes,' 'cogges,' 'crayers,' and castled 'galees,' which form the fleet of Titus, are anything but Roman; they quite correspond to the shipping of the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The statement that the Jews on the approach of Titus flew like the Foul Death ('flowen as the foul deth')

¹ *Brut*, vii. ch. 3, 4. *Titus*, 387-400.

² See Avesbury (Rolls Series) 385, for 'fluynes.'

may point to 1349, but is better interpreted to refer to the visitation of 1361-2. In 1361 it crossed the channel:

That ilk yere in til Yngland
The Secund Dede was fast wedand (*Wyntoun*, viii., 7135-6).

It did havoc in Scotland in 1362. There is yet another element making for a date about that time. The Black Prince's conquest of Aquitaine, ratified by the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, may account for a freshened interest in the legend of St. Veronica, whom Frenchmen still designate as 'the Apostle of Aquitaine.'¹ The locality of her cult was in Gascony and Guienne and Bordeaux, all then English possessions, and all playing a part in the legend and in our poem (ll. 26, 70, 190). We can hardly date *Titus* earlier than 1363. In any view the sequence established between *Alexander*, *Troy*, and *Titus* will perhaps help us when from the *Titus*—a poem known to Scotland in the fifteenth century²—we pass at last to *Morte Arthure*, believing that we have possessed ourselves of its secret.

9. 'MORTE ARTHURE,' ITS SOURCES, CONTENTS, AND PARALLELS. -

(1) *The 'Brut' as General Source.*

A chivalric Arthurian poem, not improbably known to Barbour³ and certainly quoted by Wyntoun⁴ (*circa* 1420), this story is a free rendering of the tale first enshrined in Geoffrey of Monmouth's reliquary, that *Brut* or *Historia Britonum* to which for ill and for good British history and British literature stand in so profound a debt.⁵ The 'Emperor' Lucius Iberius sends to

¹ *Sainte Véronique, Apôtre de l'Aquitaine*. 2nd ed. Toulouse, 1877.

² The opening line of *Titus*—'In Tiberius's tyme the trewe Emperour'—is, as John Leyden had observed, *verbatim* the opening line of *The Gyre-Carling* printed in *Early Popular Scottish Poetry*, ed. Laing and Hazlitt, 1895, ii. p. 19; also as number cxlviii. in the Hunterian Club print of the *Bannatyne MS.*

³ *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, p. 12. Besides the facts associating Barbour with the Knight of Eglintoun, the concurrence of sources used by Barbour and Huchown has to be considered. See below, ch. 15 sec. 4.

⁴ *Wyntoun*, bk. v., ll. 4271-4366; *Morte Arthure*, ll. 34-47, etc.

⁵ Some discussion of this and other sources occurs in P. Branscheid's elaborate essay *Quellen des Morte Arthure in Anglia*, viii., *Anzeiger*, pp. 178-336; Dr. Moritz Trautmann's

England demanding homage and tribute. In response to the insulting embassy, King Arthur crosses the channel, and, after slaying a giant, fights a great battle with Lucius, who falls, and whose body Arthur causes to be conveyed to Rome as the only tribute he is prepared to pay. He then advances into Italy, and is anticipating coronation at Rome when bad news from England constrain him to turn. Mordred, his nephew, left in charge of the realm, has played false, and the king's landing is only effected after a great sea fight in which he is victorious over Mordred and his foreign allies. The battle is continued ashore, and to the great grief of the king, Sir Gawayne falls by Mordred's hand. The traitor then flees to Cornwall, with Arthur in vengeful pursuit. Again there is battle, and all the great names of the Round Table are reckoned on the list of dead. Arthur strikes Mordred a terrible blow which cuts off his sword-hand, and Mordred dies from a thrust of Caliburn driven 'to the bright hilts.' Arthur himself, however, is wounded mortally in the encounter, and the powerful historical alliterative romance ends with the Requiem sung over the hero buried at Glastonbury—*Rev quondam rexque futurus*.

In this outline there is little deviation from the vulgate story of Arthur. The poem glorifies Arthur and the knights of his Round Table, most of all perhaps dwelling on the exploits and devotion of his nephew, Sir Gawayne, whose death is the occasion of a passionate lament by the hero-king. This is one of the many insertions made by the poet, although his framework as a whole is a fairly literal translation of the version of Arthur's later career given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, however, was not the sole Arthurian authority he employed. The English *Brut*¹ was known in Scotland soon after the middle of the fourteenth century. But the Latin *Brut* was that used by Huchown. There was, however, a considerable levy made on other works besides the *Brut* and its offshoots.

At numerous points dramatic episodes are woven into the plainer thread of

Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke in Anglia, i., 109-49; Dr. Oskar Sommer's *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. iii. 148-175; Mrs. M. M. Banks's edition of *Morte Arthur*, p. 128; and the preface to the *Destruction of Troy*. These references give no clue to the sources (except the *Brut* and the *Troy*) now to be dealt with.

¹The *Brut en Engles* is quoted by the *Scalacronica*, p. 3.

the *Brut*, and the *Great Gest of Arthure* is presented with high and vivid colouring, and with a dignity and stateliness due to the monarch-elect of chivalric romance. It is no detraction from the constructive power of the poet that even at this remote distance of time we can so far enter into his work as to determine with some certainty some at least of his sources.

It is hardly necessary to particularise the parts of *Morte Arthure* which come from its stock source, the *Brut*. What is taken is freely handled, changes are deliberately made, expansion is everywhere, and there are inserted not a few things which are in no sense really exegetical of the *Brut*. From book ix., chapter 15 of Geoffrey, wherein Lucius sends his letter, to book xi., chapter 2, wherein Arthur, wounded to death, is carried to Avalon, the *Brut* is the centre and substance of the poem. The particular manuscript of the *Brut* employed in the making of the poem will be considered by and bye. The value of *Morte Arthure* as a piece of literary history and as literature turns, however, to no small extent upon its incidental indebtedness to certain other sources which English and German editors and commentators have overlooked. The first of these is one which we may remember as of proved connection with the alliterative *Alexander*.

(2) *Maundeville's Itinerary*.

We therefore renew our acquaintance with Maundeville. In *Morte Arthure*, when Sir Priamus, badly wounded, becomes the prisoner of Gawayne,

A foyle of fyne golde they fand at his gyrdill,
That es full of the flour of the four well
That flowes owte of Paradice when the flode ryses.—(ll. 2704-6.)

Of the terrestrial Paradise Maundeville knew that it contained a well with four streams carrying precious stones, and lignum aloes, and golden sand. The terrestrial Paradise he knew, too, was so high that Noah's flood could not reach it.¹

(3) *Fleta or Bracton*.

Sir Hew of Eglintoun was a Justiciar of Scotland. That he should have been acquainted with one or other or both of the classical English legal

¹ *Maundeville* (Wright), ch. xxx.: MS. T. 4, 1, fo. 266+69b.

treatises must be as little surprising as would be his making the personal acquaintance of an English Chief-Justice, say, for example Scharshill, during a visit to or sojourn in London. There is in *Morte Arthure* an episode in connection with the ambassadors of Lucius which argues unmistakably a knowledge of the English law of sanctuary as set forth in Bracton's *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, written before 1259, or with the *Fleta seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani*, which—largely drawn from the former work—a judge of the time of Edward I. composed in the Fleet Prison. The episode in question is a supplement of the poet's devising to anything he could have found in the original, for the *Brut* contains nothing that corresponds. Arthur, after giving the embassy right royal entertainment, changes the tune when the time arrives for diplomatic business. Then he gives haughty answer to be carried back to the Emperor by the embassy. The claim of homage and tribute is contemptuously rejected; threats are met with threats still more stern; and finally the 'Senatour' is ordered home in uncompromising terms.¹ From Carlisle he is to go to the port of Sandwich; seven days are allowed him for the journey (sixty miles a day is the computation); he is to keep by Watling Street all the way, or leave it on pain of death; he must lodge for the night where his day's journey ends; and if after undern of the eighth day he is found in England, unless within the floodmark at Sandwich, he will be beheaded, drawn, and hanged. There can be no disputing the inference that the poet had in his view the text of sanctuary law whereby a criminal who had taken sanctuary and chosen to abjure the realm made his departure from the land. His port of embarkation being chosen, 'there ought to be computed for him,' says Bracton (fo. 135b-136) 'reasonable days' journeys to that port, and he ought to be forbidden to quit the king's highway, and he should tarry nowhere for two nights . . . but should ever hold on by the direct road to the port, so that he may be there by his given day. . . . If he do otherwise he shall be in peril.' In *Fleta* (ff. 45-46) the doctrine of Bracton is carried to further detail. The grithman is to pass on his way 'without girdle, unshod, and bare-headed'² in

¹ *Morte Arthure*, 445-63.

² *Discinctus et discalceatus capite discooperto in pura tunica tanquam in patibulo suspendendus.*

kirtle alone like one about to be hanged on the gallows,' and if he stray from the highway he is liable to decapitation if caught.¹

These texts of law are the best gloss we can desire for the grim direction by Arthur to the senator, whose departure is thus ingeniously conditioned with ignominy by the prescription of exit in the manner of a fugitive criminal. The element of the 'kirtle alone' was familiar to the 14th century; it was used in the *Titus* repeatedly; in the *Morte Arthure* we shall find it too with a context which settles beyond dispute its immediate source now to be brought forward.

(4) *Voeux du Paon*.

This French poem,² after a very entertaining and courtly series of events, gets to its real business in the vows made on the peacock by the various knights of Alexander the Great. Chivalry from the 13th to the 15th century laid great store by vows, often of extravagant valour, made on choice or royal dishes at great festivals—vows on the Swan, the Peacock, the Pheasant, or the Heron. Has not La Curue de Sainte-Palaye in the *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie* (ed. Nodier, 1826; i., pp. 157, etc., ii., 1-132, etc.) told and quoted and explained so fully as to supersede the need for repetition here? History remembers the vow of Edward I. made on the Swan³ at Westminster in 1306 at that feast which a contemporary describes as so noble that Britain had never seen its like except that feast at Caerleon in Arthur's time.⁴ It remembers also the vow of the Heron made by Edward III. and Robert d'Artois in 1338, a vow which happily found its metrical chronicler so that it lives in the old French *Voeu du Héron*.⁵ It has forgotten, perhaps, that not John Barbour merely but history itself most curiously associated Robert the

¹ My first note on this sanctuary passage appeared in the Dr. Furnivall Festschrift, *Anglo-English Miscellany*, 1901, p. 384.

² Students of romance await with very great interest the publication of M. Charles Bonnier's edition of the French text which is urgently necessary for purposes of collation.

³ *Flores Historiarum*, sub anno 1306. Trivet's *Annales* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 408.

⁴ *Robert of Brunne*, ed. Hearn, p. 332. Caerleon became Carlisle in *Morte Arthure*.

⁵ La Curue, i., 95.

Bruce with the vow of the peacock, for one of our chroniclers tells that in 1307, after Edward I.'s death, his son's newly created knights made similar vows to conquer King Robert to those made the year before—'emitted,' says he,¹ 'new vows to the peacock.' But it is time to return from the vow historical to the vow poetic. It was this chivalrous usage that Jacques de Longuyon enshrined in the *Voeux du Paon* to enrich the Alexander saga, making the various paladins of the great Alexander pledge themselves to perform their several feats of outstanding bravery in the approaching battle with King Clarus of India. One, for instance, swore 'to discomfit the great battale,' another to take a distinguished prisoner, another to strike down the standard of the Indian king. Thus the vows were made, and after much intervening action the poet conducts his readers to the battlefield, where knight after knight goes forward to redeem his undertaking. The 'great battale' is discomfited, the prisoner is taken, the standard is hewn down. All the vows are fulfilled to the letter. 'As they deemed to do they did full even' is the apt statement of one² who made an abstract and brief chronicle of the poem.

The French text of the poem is only now in course of being edited, but an early Scottish translator, who, as I believe myself to have demonstrated, was none other than John Barbour, gave this French poem vigorous and admirable rendering into the Scottish vernacular as *The Avowes of Alexander* and *The Great Battell of Effesoun*—these forming the second and third parts of the composite poem of which the first part is *The Forray of Gadderis*, and of which the general title is *The Buik of the most noble and vailzeand Conqueror Alexander the Great*, reprinted in 1831 for the Bannatyne Club in a very limited edition now grown scarce. That the French poem was well known to Barbour's contemporary and colleague, Sir Hew (if Sir Hew was Huchown), becomes evident from the use to which it is put in *Morte Arthure*. In the *Brut* there is no machinery of 'avows' made either by Arthur or his knights; no mention of any particular form of surrender or submission by the rebellious vassal

¹ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodal, ii., 240, Novo rege Angliae creato tirones et novi milites de subjectione regis Roberti nova vota emittunt pavoni.

² *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, l. 567.

or vanquished enemy; no mention of any ceremonial by way of amends to satiate the blood-feud or avert future hostility; no mention of the Nine Worthies. All these features occur in the *Voeux du Paon*, and are transferred to and made part of the framework of *Morte Arthure*.

Arthur himself and knight after knight of the Table Round with him make their avows. Arthur will by Lammas pass to Lorraine and Lombardy, mine down the walls of Milan, and sojourn six weeks at Viterbo. King Aungers of Scotland will bring 50,000 men at his own charges, the Baron of Britain the Less will bring 30,000 within a month, the Welsh king will fight with 2000 in the vanguard. Sir Lancelot will tilt with the Emperor and strike him from his steed. Sir Lottez will cleave his way through the enemies' ranks. Sir Ewayne will touch the eagle of the Emperor and dash down his golden banner. All which avows are perfectly accomplished; 'as they deemed to do they did full even.'

In the *Voeux* a powerful dramatic situation is presented by the amends and satisfaction which the leading paladins of Alexander offer to the younger Gadifer. In the battle which closes the *Forray of Gaderis* (*Fuerre de Gadres*) the valiant Gadifer had fallen under the spear of Emenydus. Subsequently Cassamus the Auld conducts Gadifer the Young, eldest son of the slain Gadifer, to the camp of Alexander, where he becomes the ally of the Macedonian. But when he discovers the exact position he is somewhat taken aback, and a conflict is imminent between his sense of the duty of revenge on the one hand and the requirements of his new environment on the other. Emenydus generously resolves to remove the last obstacle to harmony in the camp. To the surprise of Alexander, Emenydus and twelve companions march, barefoot, bareheaded, beltless, and in their shirts, to the presence of the young Gadifer, making submission to him by kneeling before him, tendering their swords, which they hold by the points, and reaching the hilts to the man whose blood-feud they thus hope to appease. This submission, which was gratefully accepted by Gadifer, quite evidently supplied the idea which more than once appears in *Morte Arthure*. There are minor examples, but the chief instance is that in which, after the fall of the 'Emperour' Lucius, senators and knights of Rome beg for mercy.

Twa senatours ther come and certayne knyghttez,
 Hodles fro the bethe ouer the holte eyves,
 Barefote ouer the bente with brondes so ryche,
 Bowes to the bolde kyng and biddis hym the hiltes,
 Whethire he will hang theym or hedde or halde theym on lyfe,
 Knelyde before the conquerour in kyrtills allone.¹

Where could this have come from unless from the *Voeux*? If it should be answered that the usage was one not ill-known to chivalric courts-martial,² and that its very presence in the *Voeux* comes from that fact, it will only be necessary to recall the existence of other points of contact. Of these a third and most prominent instance of borrowing is the account of the Nine Worthies—three pagans, Hector, Alexander, and Caesar; three Jews, Joshua, David, and Judas Machabeus; and three Christians, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon—whose fates are so aptly introduced in connection with Fortune's wheel in Arthur's vision.

(5) *Titus and Vespasian.*

Unmistakable are the proofs of the use of the *Titus* in *Morte Arthure*—a use which is of the greatest moment in the line of chronological proofs. Sundry questions have to be asked, and the answers to them set forward and examined.³

Why in *Morte Arthure* (297, 309, 348, 386) are the vows of Arthur and his knights made not (as in the French romance they echo) on the peacock, but on the Holy Vernacle?⁴

Because, as we have seen, the story of the Vernacle plays so great a part in the *Titus*. As the Vernacle was an integral element of the *Titus*,

¹ *Hodles*, hoodless; *holte eyves*, skirts of the wood; *brondes*, brands, swords; *biddis*, offer.

² See my article on 'The Submission of the Lord of the Isles,' in *Scottish Antiquary*, xv., 113, and add a Glasgow example, since pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Robert Renwick, in *Records of Burgh of Glasgow* (Burgh Records Soc.), 1573-1642, p. 293. Note also Du Guesclin's reference to this form of penitential surrender as recorded in Cuvelier's *Vie Vaillant Bertran du Guesclin*, ll. 2457-9.

³ Most of these points were set forth in 'Huchown' (part I.), *Athenæum*, 1st June, 1901.

⁴ Because, says Mr. Henry Bradley (*Athenæum*, 15th June, 1901), the 'words *arowe* and *vernacle* alliterate in *v*.' It is indeed a notable reason, the publication of which evinces Mr. Bradley's penetration!

Vespasian, and Veronica legend, it goes without saying that the *Titus* did not borrow the Vernacle from *Morte Arthure*.

Why in *Morte Arthure* (2331-35) is it that Arthur by way of doing shame to Rome shaves the senators who came as ambassadors of submission to him after the death of Lucius?

Because in the *Titus* (355-378) ambassadors of Rome demanding surrender of Jerusalem are sent back shaven, 'scorned and shent upon shame wise,' by the indignant garrison. This is not Roman, for with the Romans shaving was a symbol of manumission; it does not seem to occur in either the ancient or medieval stories of the fall of Jerusalem; but it is an incident so oriental in character as to be as natural and as much in keeping with the story of Titus and the Jews as at first it seems out of keeping with Arthur and the Romans. *Ogier Danois* with its shaven ambassadors supplies an exact enough precedent for both poems.

How comes it that in *Morte Arthure* (1252, 2026, 2057) there is such insistence on the significance of the dragon banner?

There is the same insistence in the *Titus* (278, 325, 387-8, 396-400) concerning it. Perhaps the hint for it in both *Titus* and *Morte Arthure* came partly from Geoffrey of Monmouth (vii., chaps. 3 and 4) and partly from fourteenth century life or literature, but the allusion of *Titus* (397) to the dragon as an indication of the royal presence in person and (398-400) to its menace as precluding any terms short of absolute surrender, harmonises remarkably with the *Morte Arthure* allusions to the dragon¹ raised to threaten only when Lucius is himself in the field.

Whence came into *Morte Arthure* (3353-62) the 'pome' symbol of sovereignty of the earth with the sword as its companion token?

It came from the same quarter as produced the four-bladed falchion and the ball of burning gold betokening conquest of 'al the world riche' in *Titus* (390-395).

Whence came into *Morte Arthure* (900-919) the suggestion of the fine picture of Arthur arming himself for the fight with the dragon?

¹ On this see further my article on 'Raising Dragon' in *Scottish Antiquary*, xii. 147. But see also chap. 12, sec. 1, below.

In the *Titus* (734-762) there is a closely analogous picture of *Vespasian* arming himself, a picture not occurring in the original Latin sources. The two pictures have, moreover, features and alliterations in common.

<i>Titus.</i>	<i>Morte Arthure.</i>
735 ['Leverockes' sing].	925-30 [Birds sing]. ¹
738 [Vespasian] busked hym fayr.	917 [Arthur] sterys hym faire.
741 brynne browded brest.	1858 brenys browden brestez
741-2 [Vespasian has a breast-plate of steel and gold.]	902 [Arthur has an 'acton with orfracez.']
748 A brod schynand scheld on scholdir he hongith.	914 He bracez a brade schelde.
750 The glowes of gray steel that wer with gold hemyd.	912 His gloues gaylyche gilte and granen at the hemmez. (This is repeated at l. 3462.)
751 and his hors asketh.	914 and his brande aschez.
752 The gold hewen helme haspeth he blyve With viser and with avental devysed for the nones A croune of clene gold was closed upon lofte Rybande umbe the rounde helm ful of riche stones, Pyght prudely with perles into the pur corners.	908 The creste and the coronall enclosed so faire Wyth clasppis of clere golde couched wyth stones The vesare the aventaille enarmede so faire. [3462 pighte was full faire With perry of the oryent and precyous stones.]
758 He strideth on a stif stede and strikethe over the bente.	915-6 Bounede hym a broun stede and on the bente hovys
[521 Stith men in stiropys striden alofte]. <i>Gawayne and Green Knight</i> , 435: Steppez into stelbawe and strydes alofte.	He sterte till his sterepe and stridez on lofte.
<i>Alex.</i> 778 Striden to stelebowe startyn upon lofte.	
760 His segges sewen hym alle	919 . . . hys knyghtes hyme kepede . . .

How comes it that whilst, as we have seen, there are so many lines and phrases common to *Titus* and *Troy*, and whilst, as we shall see, there are so many common to *Morte Arthure* and *Troy*, there are also so many common to *Morte Arthure* and *Titus*?

¹ An accompaniment perhaps suggested by *Perceval le Gallois*, ll. 19056-84, M. Amours, *Sc. Allit. Poems*, pp. 276-7.

As a riming poet is tested by his rimes, so an alliterator is tested by his alliterations. Here are a few alliterative points of contact.

<i>Titus.</i>		<i>Morte Arthure.</i>	
283	. . . floynes aflot farcostes many	743	. . . floynes and fercostez
284	Cogges and crayers . . .	738	Coggez and crayers
287	. . . tyghten up talsail (? topsail).	744	Tytt saillez to the toppe
290	Port Jaf.	1520	Port Jaf. ¹
308	. . . that fauconn wolde strike . . .	788	. . . as fawcone frekly he strykes.
387	. . . dragoun was dressed . . .	786	. . . dragone on dreghe dressede . . .
451	Cameles closed in stele.	616	Bot coverde camellez of toures en-closyde in maylez.
622	. . . dewe was donked.	313	. . . dewe that es daunke . . .
815	Fought right felly foyned with speres [cf. <i>Troy</i> , 815].	3690	Then they falle to the fyghte floynes with sperys.
859	. . . torsom (torfour) and tene . . .	1956	. . . tene and torfere . . .
883	Ride to the rever [<i>Rever</i> in the sense of hawking ground].	619	Rides in by the ryvere . . . (cf. 920- 925 for connection with hawking; also verb <i>ryvaie</i> 4000).
1007	My wele and my worschup	401	My wele and my wyrchiye . . .
1113-4	Schafte schedred wer sone and scheldes ythrelled	2169	. . . Schafte scodyrde . . . (3845 also).
	Brunyes and bright wede bloody by runne.	1412	Thrughe brenes and bryghte scheldes brestes thyrlle.

This list admits of considerable extension. The arithmetic of citations calls for a word in passing to annotate the fact that in comparing *Morte Arthure* (4347 lines) with *Titus* (1332 lines) there is numerically far less chance of similarities between these two than in comparing either with the *Troy* (14,044 lines). Such at least must be the presumption unless it is disturbed by relations of time or theme which may bring one pair of poems closer to each other and reveal more resemblances than numerical proportions might have led a critic to expect. Those considerations will not be forgotten when we turn to yet other sources of *Morte Arthure*.

(6) *Supplementary French Sources.*

That a considerable use is made of French romance in *Morte Arthure* has been signalled by the borrowings from the *Vocux du Paon*. For some very slender information regarding others less distinct Branschheid's essay

¹ The Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1 (f. 266 + 5) spells *Portum Japh*.

and Sommer's introduction to Malory may be consulted, as well as Mrs. Banks's introduction.

Two sources not brought forward in any of these discussions may be suggested as possible. The noble and impassioned outburst of Arthur over the body of the slain Gawayne, which he lifts and clasps to his breast, (l. 3952) may be compared with the passage in the Itinerary of the Pseudo-Turpin (*Itinerarium domini Turpini*) found in the Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, where (fo. 184) Charlemagne mourns over the fallen Roland. '*Karolus Rothlandum exanimatum jacentem eversum brachiis positus super pectus in effigie crucis, et irruens super eum cepit lacrimis gemitibus et singultibus . . . lugere,*' etc. Not the words of Charlemagne are followed by Arthur, but the echo of their spirit is very close. A second possible and quite subsidiary source is *Generydes*, to which reference may be made in its late English version (E.E.T.S., 1873), for several points of contact with the Huchown set of poems. Thus the temptation in ll. 477-483 suggests the recurrent machinery of *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. The steed of Generydes, 'Grisselle,' is the steed¹ of Gawayne in the *Awentyrs of Arthure*, just as in another poem Hector's steed, 'Galathe,' appears to have given name² to Gawayne's sword, 'Galuth.' The sword of Generydes, 'Claryet,' suggests³ Arthur's weapon, 'Clarent.' And in one of the battles of Generydes there are 'boustous folk' 'on camelys' who look very like⁴ the 'boustous churles' on 'cammeliez' who are ranged among the enemies of King Arthur in the army of the 'Emperour. The probability of *Generydes* being indeed a source is vastly heightened by a direct reference to it in another of the Huchown poems, to be afterwards noticed,⁵ which is in part a derivative of *Morte Arthure*. That there are other French sources, as for instance, for the Priamus and Gawayne encounter, is certain. *Ogier Danois*, we have seen, probably accounts for the four shaven ambassadors. Not less probably it accounts for the incident of the curative ointment carried by Priamus, which, taken from his girdle after

¹ *Generydes*, 3301—*Awentyrs*, 547.

² *Troy*, 7780—*Morte*, 1387.

³ *Generydes*, 3481—*Morte*, 4202.

⁴ *Generydes*, 2152-7; *Morte*, 615-6; 'Bioustious,' the same adjective, occurs in *Troy*, 4116.

⁵ See ch. 10, sec. 2, below.

Gawayne has wounded and captured him, makes all the injured knights 'fischehalle' within four hours (ll. 2705-13). In *Ogier Danois* the giant Brehus has in the buckle of his shield an ointment similarly effective, whereby he at once makes himself, says the romance, 'more sound than a swimming fish.' The victorious Ogier and Gawayne alike possess themselves of the vanquished enemy's ointment. Hence, therefore, seems to have come the suggestion of the encounter of Priamus and Gawayne. Other French sources may be taken to include some version of *Ferumbras*, the allusion to the relics, the crown of thorns, the lance, the cross, and the nails¹ being in all likelihood brought from that romance.

(7) *The 'Troy' and the 'Alexander.'*

Approaching now a series of extensive parallels between *Morte Arthure* and the *Troy* one finds it simplest to deal with the *Alexander* also in the same connection as a subsidiary source connected with the *Troy* in *Morte Arthure* passages as we have already seen it in *Titus* passages.

One group of parallels to the *Alexander* is geographical, and has been commented upon by Professor Skeat. At the end of the *Alexander* there is a singular list of provinces subject to the rule of Alexander the Great. The Latin original has been reprinted above. While this list gives the key to at least thirty-two of the names in the alliterative rendering, it also makes clear the inference that a number of the alliterative names were not in the original Latin. The further comparison of a similar list of names in *Morte Arthure* with that in the *Alexander* poems reveals (1) that the former contains pairs occurring in the latter; (2) that these pairs embrace names not in the Latin source of the *Alexander*; and (3) that thus such combinations and coincidences as 'Gyane and Grece,' 'Bayone and Burdeux, or 'Naverne and Norway' are rendered doubly significant.

¹ *Morte*, 3427-29. In Scottish chronicle of 1360 there is mention of these 'tresnoblis precious reliques.' *Scalacronica*, 195. There is, however, no list of what they were, and it is observable that, while the lists differ in the *Ferumbras* romances the version used by Barbour (*Bruce*, iii., 459-61) also mentions the crown, the spear, the cross, and the nails. *The Sowdan of Babylon* does not name the spear.

Morte Arthure.

<i>Alex.</i> 5674	<i>Flandres and France . . .</i>	34	Flaundrez and Fraunce.
[<i>Awentyrs of Arthure</i> 276.	<i>Bretane and</i>	36	Burgoyne and Brabane and Bretayne
	<i>Burgoyne.</i>]		the lesse.
		(1018	Burgoyne or Bretayne.)
<i>Alex.</i> 5667	<i>Gyane Garnad and Grece and</i>	37	Gyane and Gothelande and Grece.
	<i>Gascony.</i>		
[<i>Titus</i> 26	<i>Gascoyne gat and Gyan.]</i>		
<i>Alex.</i> 5668	<i>Bayone and Burdeux.</i>	38	Bayone and Burdeux.
<i>Alex.</i> 5672	<i>Norway thire Navernes alle.</i>	44	Naverne and Norwaye and Nor-
			maundye.
<i>Alex.</i> 5669	<i>Capidos.</i>	580	Capados.
<i>Alex.</i> 5665	<i>Turke, Tuscane, Troy, and</i>	582	Tartary and Turkey.
	<i>Tartary.</i>		
2190	<i>Thebea.</i>	583	Thebay.
			[The next line (584) refers to the Ama-
			zons, thus showing the Alexander connec-
			tion. Line 586 too speaks of Babylon, also
			referable to the Alexander story.]
5657	<i>Pers and Pamphalie.</i>	588	Perce and Pamphile.

The above *italicised* names from the *Alexander* occur in the Latin, the others do not, thus making the recurrence of the same pairs in another poem so much the more indicative of a single hand. How this indication gains from extended collation of certain identities of line and alliteration between the poems as undernoted will be too plain to need much argument.

Morte Arthure.

<i>Troy</i> 2683	<i>Warpet out wordes . . .</i>	9	. . . werpe owte some worde . . .
<i>Troy</i> 207	<i>. . . with daintes ynogh.</i>	199	With darielles endordede and daynteez
			ynewe.
<i>Awentyrs</i> 459	<i>With niche daynteths endor-</i>		
	<i>rede . . .</i>		
<i>Awentyrs</i> 14	<i>Sir Gawane the gay dame</i>	233	Sir Gaywayne the worthye Dame
	<i>Gayenour he ledis.</i>		Waynour he hledys.
<i>Troy</i> 2140	<i>To venge of our velany.</i>	298	Of this grett velany I salle be vengede
<i>Titus</i> 20	<i>. . . the vyleny to venge.</i>		ones.
<i>Troy</i> 6537	<i>With thre thousand thro nien</i>	317	Thyrtty thousande be tale thyrftye
	<i>thrivond in armys.</i>		in armes.
<i>Troy</i> 7733	<i>Sparit for no spurse, speddyn</i>	449	. . . spede at the spurs and spare
	<i>to the flight.</i>		not . . .

Morte Arthure.

- Troy* 2371 Bound up my blonke to a
hogh evyn.
- Alex.* 5317 For alle the welthe of the
wer[1]l.
- Troy* 313 The mighty Massidon Kyng
...
- Troy* 3551 In a swyme and a swogh as
he swelt wold.
9454 . . . swym as he swelt wold.
8046 . . . swonyt in swym as ho
swelt wold.
- Alex.* 64 . . . dryfes over the depe . . .
- Troy* 1484 . . . a philosoffer a fine man
of lore
In the syense full sad of the
seyn artes.
- Troy* 23 . . . wees that wist . . .
- Troy* 2735 . . . florisschet with floures. . .
- Troy* 12973 Nightgalis with notes.
- Troy* 1061 Swoghyng of swet ayre
swalyng of briddes.
- Alex.* 4385 The swogling of . . . swete
wellis.
- Troy* 8273 Thow dowltes shall dye with
dynt of my hond.
- Awentyrs* 390 . . . an anlas.
- Troy* 92 . . . dede throughe dyntes of
hond.
- Awentyrs* 442 . . . a pavilone of palle that
prodly was pighte.
- Pistill of Susan* 59 Thei caught for heor
covetyse the cursyng of
Cayme.
- Troy* 9406 He gird hym thurgh the
gutttes with a grym speire.
Cf. 1232.
- Troy* 7780 . . . Galathe that was the
gude stede.
[Name of Hector's horse.]
- 453 Bynde thy blonke by a buske with
thy brydille evene.
- 541 Ne of welthe of this werlde . . .
- 603 The myghtyeste of Macedone . . .
- 716 . . . swonyng swe[1]te as cho walde.
- 761 . . . dryfande one the deep.
- 807-8 . . . phylozophirs. . .
In the sevyne seyence the suteleste
fondene.
- 891 Thare was no wy of this werlde that
wyst. . .
- 924 The frithez ware floreschte with
flourez. . .
- 929 Of the nyghtgale notez the noisiez.
- 932 . . . swowynge of watyr and syngynge
of byrdez.
- 1073 For thow salle dye this day thurghe
dynt of my handez.
[Same, 1505, 4228.]
- 1148 . . . with ane anlace.
- 1277 . . . derely be delt with dynttez of
handez.
- 1287 Palaisez proudliche pyghte . . . that
palyd ware. . .
- 1311 That ilke cursynge that Cayme kaghte
for his brothyre.
- 1369-70 He gryppes hym a grete spere. . .
Thurghe the guttez into the gorre he
gyrdes hyme ewyne.
- 1387 . . . Galuth his gude swerde. . .
[Name of Gawayne's sword, probably
a transfer from Hector's horse.]

Morte Arthure.

- Troy* 9061 . . . brest . . . thirlet. 1413 . . . brestes they thirl. . . .
Cf. 1858.
- Troy* 3881 . . . a litte he stotid. 1435 . . . stotais a lyttille.
- Troy* 10541 Swordis out swiftly thai 1464-5 Swyftly with swerdes they swappene
swappit. . . . thereaftyre.
Swappez doune fulle sweperlyc swel-
tande knyghtez.
- Troy* 1889 And with swappyng of Cf. 2982 And with a swerde swiftly he
swerdys thof he swelt swappes him thorowe.
wolde.
Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 480-81.
- Troy* 5935 He swappit at hym swithe
with a swerd felle.
[Same, 6921.]
- Awentyrs* 514 He swapped him yne at the
swyre with a swerde kene.
- Troy* 11091 Stedes doun sticked. . . . 1488 . . . stekede stedys. . . .
- Alex.* 5482 . . . biche sons. . . . 1723 . . . dogge-sone in zone dyme
schawes.
- Alex.* 561 . . . and demyd the skewys.
- Awentyrs* (Douce MS.) 53 . . . in the dymme
skuwes.
- Awentyrs* 293 . . . Rownde tabille losse 1732 Thynke one riche renoune of the
the renoune. rounde table.
- Awentyrs* 266 Maye no man stere hym of 1793 Many steryne mane he steride by
strenghe. strenghe of hyme one.
- Alex.* 1324 And makez a way wyde 1796 Wroghte wayes fulle wyde. . . .
enogh. . . .
- Troy* 5932 Make wayes full wide. [Same,
6513.]
- Troy* 5933 Shot thurgh the sheltrons 1813 Schotte thorowe the schiltrouns and
shent of the pepuil. scheverede launces.
- Cf. *Troy*, 5249.
He shot thurgh the sheltrone
and shent of hor knightes.
[Same, 6830.]
- Troy* 1194 Shildes thogh shote shalkes 1857 Schalkes they schotte thrughe shren-
to dethe. kand maylez.
- Troy* 6780 Mony shalke thurgh shot
with there sharpe gere.
- Troy* 6780 Mony shalke thurgh shot. . . . Cf. 2545 Thorowe scheldz they schotte and
schorde thorowe males.
- Troy* 5820 That hit shot through the
shilde and the shire maile.

Morte Arthure.

[See entry preceding.]

- Troy* 9433 Shot thurgh the sheld and
the shene mayle. [Same,
6401.]
- Troy* 81 . . . torfer and tene. 1956 . . . tene and torfere. . . .
- Troy* 1197 All dynnet the dyn and dales 2031 Alle dynned fore dyne that in the
aboute. dale hovede.
- Troy* 6407 . . . braid out a brond. . . . 2069 Braydez owte his brande. . . .
- Troy* 7458 How suth men and stedes 2079 The stede and the steryne man strykes
were strikon to ground. to the grownd.
- Troy* 6789 Mony lyve of lept. . . . 2084 . . . somme leppe fro the lyfe. . . .
- Arventyrs* 502 So jolyly those gentille mene 2088 Jolyly this gentille forjusted . . .
justede one were. another.
- Troy* 7400 . . . bowmen . . . bykirit. 2095-6 . . . bowmene . . . bekerde.
- Troy* 5285 . . . dede and done out of 2178 That he was dede of the dynte and
lyve. done owte of lyfe.
- Arventyrs* 25 On a mule as the mylke. 2287 Moyllez mylke whitte. . . .
- Troy* 1089 Skairen out skoute wacche. . . . 2468 Skayres thaire skottefers and their
skowtte waches.
- Alex.* 2175 He pight doun his pavilion. . . . 2478 Pyghte pavylyons of palle. . . .
- Alex.* 4178 . . . pavillions of pall. . . .
- Alex.* Als fast was he fyschale . . . 2709 . . . freke schalle be fischehalle within
Cf. 4282. foure houres.
- Troy* 5939 Slit hym doun sleghly thurgh 2976 Sleyghly in at the slotte slyttes hym
the slote evyn. thorowe.
- Troy* 6409 Slit him full sleghly to the
slote evyn.
- Troy* 6955 Miche slaght in that slade of 2978 Sixty slongene in a slade of sleghe
tho slegh knightes. men of armes.
Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 481.
- Troy* 5250 Mony doughty were ded 3025 Many doughty es dede by dynt of his
thurgh dynt of his hond. hondes.
Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 501, also
lines. Cf. 1073, 1277, 4228.
- Troy.* 7795 And mony degbit that day
thurgh dynt of his hond.
- Arventyrs* 318 . . . the dawngere and the 3068 To duelle in dawngere and dole
dole that I in duelle.
- Titus* 1108 Up a buschment brake. . . . 3125 Thane brekes oure buschement. . . .
- Arventyrs* 340 Undir a seloure of sylke . . . 3195 Undyre a sylure of sylke.
- Arventyrs* 135 . . . whedir that thou salle. 3232 That I ne wiste no waye whedire that
I scholde.
- Pistil* 11-12 Of Erberi and Alees 3245 Enhorilde with arborye and alkyns
Of alle Maner of trees. trees.

Morte Arthure.

<i>Troy</i>	7997	. . . dew dankit . . .	3249	. . . downkyng of dewe. . . .
<i>Aventyrs</i>	16	Withe riche rebanes revers- sede.	3256	And alle redily reversside with re- banes of golde.
<i>Titus</i>	637	Byes, broches. besauntes. . .	3257	Bruchez and besauntez and other bryghte stonys.
<i>Aventyrs</i>	17	Raylede with rubes one royalle arraye.	3264	Raylide with reched and rubys inewe.
<i>Troy</i>	9038	Slogh hom doun sleghly with sleght of his hond. [Same, 9451.]	3419	For he slewe with a slyng be sleyghte of his handis.
<i>Titus</i>	472	. . . sawters seten . . .	3422-3	. . . psalmes
		psalmys.		That in the sawtire ere sette. . . .
<i>Alex.</i>	4960	Pesan pancere and platis.	3459	A pesane and a paunsone. . . .
<i>Titus</i>	509	Plate ne pesan.		
<i>Aventyrs</i>	151	And nowe am I cachede owte of kyth in carys so colde.	3514	Now am I cachede owtt of kyth with kare at my herte.
<i>Alex.</i>	24	The wysest wies ot this werd.	3554	Of all the wyes of this worlde.
<i>Troy</i>	10706	. . . and his ble chaungit.	{	3559 . . . alle his ble chaungide.
<i>Titus</i>	1088	. . . and all hir blode chaungeth.		4214 . . . and alle his ble chaunges.
<i>Troy</i>	2758	And shope hom to ship.	3600-1	And thane he schoupe hym to chippe. . . .
	2744	. . . on the shyre water.		. . . over the schyre waters.
<i>Troy</i>	13730	And schunt for no schame but hit schope faire. Cf. <i>Troy</i> , notes p. 474.	3716	He ne schownttes for no schame but schewes fulle heghe.
<i>Troy</i>	943	Shott thurgh the sheld and the shene mayle.	3747-9	Thourghe the scheldys so schene schalkes thay towche With schaftes scheverid schoite of thas schene launces
<i>Troy</i>	1264	His shafte all to sheverit the shalke was unhurt.		Derfe dynthys they dalte. . . .
<i>Alex.</i>	2091	Derfe dintes and dreghe delt and taken.		
<i>Troy</i>	5810	Launsit as a lyoun. Cf. <i>Troy</i> , 10985.	3832	. . . alles a lyone he lawunches theme thorowe.
<i>Aventyrs</i>	617	The swerde sleppis on slante and one the mayle slydys.	3855	His hand sleppid and slode oslante one the mayles.
<i>Titus</i>	1014	Wende wepande away.	3889	Went wepand awaye . . .
<i>Troy</i>	1328	. . . bloody beronyn. Cf. <i>Troy</i> , 10424, 11141.	3947	. . . al bloody bero[n]ene.
			3972	. . . bloody berowne.
<i>Troy</i>	10757	Ne hope of hor hele in hor hert thoght.	3959-60	. . . the hope of my hele . . . my herte.

<i>Morte Arthure.</i>			
<i>Troy</i>	1516	Soche sikyng and sorow sanke in his hert.	3984 Was never sorowe so softe that sanke to my herte.
<i>Aventyrs</i>	230	To mene me with messes grete menske nowe it were.	4019 Menskede with messes for mede of the saule.
<i>Troy</i>	3239	Thai shotte into shippe the scheltrun.	4116 Schotte to the schiltrones. . . .
<i>Troy</i>	313-5	The mighty Massidon King master of all. . . . He wan all the world and at his wille aght.	4161 Of alle that Alexander aughte qwhilles he in erthe lengede.
<i>Titus</i>	720	. . . tresoun and trey. . . .	4193 . . . tresone and trayne. . . .
<i>Troy</i>	1248	The bourder of his basnet brestes in sonder.	4212 The bordoure of his bacenett he bristes in sondire.
<i>Aventyrs</i>	521-2	He kervet of the cantel that covurt the knyghte. Thro his shild and his shil- dur a schaftmun he share.	4232-3 The cantelle of the clere schelde he kerfes in sondyre Into the schuldre of the schalke a schaftmonde large.
<i>Alex.</i>	4961	Jopone and jesserand. . . .	4239 Thorowe jopowne and jesserawnte. . .

The arguments about dissimilarities in style and vocabulary between *Morte Arthure*, the *Troy*, the *Alexander*, and other poems are so completely undermined by the great facts of connection now for the first time established, that the tedious and invidious task of replying in detail to so many scholars and personal friends is happily unnecessary. That entirely mistaken stress was laid upon divergences of vocabulary, and that supposed distinctions of alliterative system were unwarrantably believed to make unity impossible—these seem now to be self-evident propositions, with every presumption in favour of unity. The earlier arguments were brought forward under conditions now enormously modified and reversed—a body of new positive fact having practically superseded the anterior basis of Huchown's case.

For Huchown, especially considered as a postulate of unity, the claim now rests not on general or special resemblances of lines or style—always the most slippery of grounds—but on a long and firm series of proved and interlocked connections uniting four poems, *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*.

(8) *Events of 1346-64 as sources.*

Taking as proved the influence of the French wars on the fabric of *Titus* one finds a ready test for the chronology of *Morte Arthure*.¹ Full of chivalry, must there not emerge in it points of special contact as regards the art of war itself? Let us therefore examine the dispositions of his troops made by King Arthur in his great battle with the 'Emperour.' In Geoffrey the king has eight squadrons besides his own, and he has no archers. In *Morte Arthure* the array is quite altered. There are three battalions. The king appoints Sir Valiant

Cheftayne of the cheeke with chevalrous knyghttez,
 And sythyn meles with mouthe that he moste traystez,
 Demenys the medylward menskfully hymeselfene,
 Ffittes his fotemen alles hym faire thynkkes,
 On fronnte the forebreste, the flour of his knyghtez.
 His archers on aythere halfe he ordaynede theraftre
 To schake in a sheltrone to shotte whene theme lykes:
 He arrayed in the rerewarde fulle rialle knyghtez.
 With renkkes renownd of the rounde table.²

Morte Arthure, 1986-94.

The best possible commentary on this is the battle of Crecy.³ There were three 'battles,' two forming the front line, the third the reserve. 'The men at arms' (says Mr. Oman)⁴ 'all on foot, were formed in a solid line—perhaps six or eight deep—in the centre of the 'battle.' The archers stood in two equal divisions to the right and left of the men at arms.' Edward's array and Arthur's are thus essentially the same—(1) three 'battles,' *i.e.* the 'cheeke' or 'fronnt,' the middleward, and the rearguard; (2) the flower of the knights on foot in the battlefront; and (3) the archers on each side of (4) the dismounted men at arms. One may not press such things too far, yet must it be noticed how the bowmen of Britain overbore the 'bregaundez' of the enemy⁵ just as the archers of

¹ The chief heads of this section, with additional details, are set forth in my article on the subject about to be published in *The Antiquary*.

² *Cheeke*, the 'front' or vanguard; *meles*, addresses; *demenys*, arrays; *menskfully*, becomingly; *halfe*, side; *sheltrone*, arrayed body; *renkes*, men.

³ See Murimuth (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 165-7; Galfridus le Baker (ed. Giles), 164-7.

⁴ *Art of War* (Middle Ages), 605.

⁵ *Morte Arthure*, 2095-107.

Edward drove back the cross-bowmen of Genoa, who were armed in 'brigandines' of mail.¹ In the poem² a great charge of horse followed, in which many men were trodden down. This sequence was historical at Crecy also.³ Nor are there wanting analogies for the threats of no quarter, characteristic of both the battle poetic⁴ and the battle real.⁵ Surely the test of Crecy is well sustained.

The 'brigands' introduce themselves to us in Froissart under the year 1358—the infantry of the freebooting mercenary class produced by the English wars in France. The word itself carries a general indication of date corroborated by so many companion facts.

Turn from land to sea and the same test stands. Consider certain of the characteristics of the great sea fight between Arthur and the allies of Mordred, and place this engagement in its entirety over against the historical sea-fight off Winchelsea, between the English and the 'Espagnols,' on 29th August, 1350. And note how every point of the historic battle, (now to be gleaned from divers chronicles, etc., Minot, Murimuth's continuator, Walsingham, Galfridus le Baker, and Froissart) comes blazing into the wonderful poem—the topcastles with the stones and gads of iron, the 'hurdace,' the 'beaver' of Edward and then his helm, the cutting of head ropes, the English archers outshooting the enemy, the storming of the ships, the gay cabins hacked with arrows and bespattered with men's brains, and then the grim end of all when—a momentary lapse of the poet dubbing the Danish enemies of Arthur the 'Spanyolis'—he tells how to a man they sprang into the sea or stubbornly died upon their decks; exactly, as the historians assure us, did the Spaniards off Winchelsea, refusing the summons to

¹ Oman's *Art of War*, 611. The 'brigandine' is figured in Demmin's *Die Kriegswaffen* (ed. Leipzig, 1886), 457-8. The word 'brigand,' originally denoting a footsoldier, was introduced into French in the 14th century (Brachet's *Dict.*). I find it in a letter to King John just before the battle of Poitiers, in 1356. Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ed. Michel, 1883, p. 333. See also Cuvelier's *Du Guesclin*, l. 1584. It is used by Froissart relative to the 'companies' in 1358; also under same year in *Scala-cronica*, p. 186, and earlier on p. 108.

² *Morte*, 2140-52.

³ Galf. le Baker, 165.

⁴ *Morte*, 2007, 2203.

⁵ Galf. le Baker, 164-5

surrender, and meeting death with invincible disdain. This will be made fully apparent from the collation¹ exhibited here.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.

Saxis volantibus a turriculis malorum et
pilis vibrantibus . . . classica armatura.

(Baker.)

Gros barriaus de fer forgiés et fais tous
faitis pour lancier et pour effondrer nefes en
lançant de pières et de calliaus sans nom-
bre.

(Froissart.)

Thaire hurdis thaire ankers hanged thai
on here.

(Minot. x. 14.)

Si se tenoit li rois d'Engleterre ou chief
de sa nef vestis d'un noir jake de velviel
et portoit sus son chief un noir chapelet
de beveres qui moult bien li sevit.

(Froissart.)

Et puis mist li rois le bacinet en la tieste
et aussi fissent tout le aultre.

(Froissart.)

'With trompes and taburns.' (Minot x.
S.) 'Tubis lituis et musce cornibus suos
ad arma concitantes.

(Baker.)

'When thai sailed westward.' (Minot x. 13.)

S'encontrerent de tel ravine que ce sembla
uns tempestes que là fust cheus. Et dou
rebombe qu'il fisent li chastiaus de la nef
dou roy d'Engletene consievi le chastiel
de la nef Espagnole par tel maniere que
li force dou mas le rompi amont sus le
mas où il seoit et le reversa en le mer.

(Froissart.)

Si acrokièrent a cros de fer et de kaines.

(Froissart.)

Hanekin . . . copa le cable qui porte le
voile par quoi li voiles chei . . . il copa
quatre cordes souverainnes qui gouvrenioient
le mas et le voile.

(Froissart.)

Morte Arthure (ll. 3600-700).

The King prepares his ships for battle.
'Drawing up stones' for projectiles as they
lie at anchor, 'the topcastles he stuffed
with toyelys,' and with 'gads of steel.'
There is a 'hurdace on height' with helmed
knights. The King is bareheaded 'with
beveryne lokkes,' his headpiece, however,
at hand, and when the anchors are weighed
and the engagement begins he dons 'his
comely helm.'

Signal of battle comes when the crews
'bragged in trompes.' The wind rises out
of the west.

Ships sail into each other with a crash.
'Sways the mastys; over falls in the
fust'; men bicker with 'gads of irons.'

As the ships grapple the seamen 'castys
crepers one cross.'

'Thane was hede-rapys hewene that
helde up the mastes.' (l. 3668.)

¹ Works cited are *Poems of Laurence Minot*, ed. Hall, pp. 33-4. *Galfridus le Baker*, ed. Giles, pp. 204-5. *Froissart*, ed. Luce, tome iv., pp. 88-96 (livre premier, §§ 323-7). *Murimuth*, (Eng. Hist. Soc.) p. 180. *Walsingham, sub anno, 1350*. In examining Froissart I have had the benefit of notes on Lettenhove's text from my friend Mr. J. T. T. Brown.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.

Terebrarunt tandem sagittarii longiore
jactu sagittarum illorum balistarios . . . E
turribus saxa fulminabant. (Baker.)

Tunc sculas conscensi nostri in Hesperias
naves irruerunt gladiis et securibus obvios
truncantes. (Baker.)

Ibi vidisses sanguine et cerebro naves
pictas demiono sagittas in malis velis temo-
nibus et castris infixas. (Baker.)

Hispani . . . quia se reddere noluerant
jussu regis Edwardi omnes miserabiliter
perierunt. (Murimuth's continuator.) His-
pani . . . omnes miserabiliter perierunt
alii ferro caesi alii aquis submersi.

(Walsingham.)

In brevi vasa plena Hispanis vacuabant.

(Baker.)

Inopes Hispanos mortuos et languidos in
mare projicientes. (Baker.)

Morte Arthure (ll. 3690-700).

'Archers of England full eagerly shoot'
'till all the Danes were dead and in the
deep thrown.' (l. 3694.)

Arthur's men then board and storm the
ships 'leaping in upon loft.'

Mony kaban clevede cabills destroyede
Knyghtes and kene men killide the braynes
Kidd castells were corven with all their
kene wapen. (ll. 3671-3.)

Spanyolis spedily sprentyde over burdez
Alle the kene men of kampe knyghtes and
other

Killyd are colde dede and eastyne over
burdez. (ll. 3700-2.)

[The 'Spanyolis' of l. 3700 are Danes in all
the other allusions to them.

ll. 3528, 3610, 3694.]

From these passages what follows? That there is more of live chronicle of the fight of Winchelsea in the little finger of *Morte Arthure* than there is in the entire body of Laurence Minot's song of *Les Espagnols sur Mer*: That the poet who in *Titus* drew upon the surrender of Calais in 1347 for poetic colouring, similarly drew in *Morte Arthure* on the battle of Crecy in 1346, and the Spanish sea fight of 1350: That the Arthur of *Morte Arthure* is not indirectly Edward III.: That every presumption therefore points to the poem as a contemporary and chivalric tribute to the founder of the Table Round.

Crecy, as already shewn, supplied much for Arthur's great battle with Lucius, but it fails entirely to clear away an editorial difficulty and determine the site of the field. What lacks in 1346 we may chance to find in 1359. The romance-battle was fought in the 'vale' of 'Sessoynne,' which has been supposed to be Saxony, but the true understanding of which has long been a problem¹ owing to the topographical impossibilities Saxony involves.

¹ Mrs. Banks's notes to *Morte Arthure*, ll. 1964, 1977. That 'Sessoynne' is sometimes Saxony is clear enough, being the French 'Sassoigne,' but not so here.

Prior to the battle Arthur had been in Normandy advancing eastward; Lucius, too, was sojourning not far away by the Seine and Rouen and Paris (ll. 1336-40); and after the battle Arthur is again found at Cotentin, still in Normandy. Saxony is not a 'vale,' and is a good seven hundred miles from Normandy. Moreover, the poet's 'vale' has a city; and Arthur's army just before being arranged in order of battle

'Forsette them the cite appon sere halfez' (l. 1979).

Now in the year 1359, according to an English author,¹ an English 'company' did this very thing. *Un compaigny des Engles enforcerent la vile de Veillye en la vale de Sessoun*. French chronicle² of the same fact calls the place 'Sissone,' and Sissonne still lives as a township in the department of Aisne in Picardy. Huchown's 'vale' therefore we may assume, after a glance at the map, was here.³

The term 'chartire of pes'⁴ belongs to the same period, having, according to Froissart, been applied to the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360, and having probably become current shortly after. In *Morte Arthure*, in the great sea fight against Mordred and his allies, the king arrays his ships 'alle ryally in rede' (l. 3614). From 1361 we hear of a war vessel⁵ of Edward III. called 'le Reade Cogge.' 'The genatours of Genne,' and 'bregaundez,' who change sides⁶ with such promptitude and fight forthwith against their dilatory Roman paymasters, reflect the period of

¹ *Scalacronica*, 185.

² *Jehan le Bel*, ii., 239.

³ It is curious to note the existence of a Crecy (Crecy sur Serre) within a few miles of Sissonne. This was not Edward III.'s Crecy, which is in the adjoining department of Somme, nearer the sea.

⁴ *Morte Arthure*, 1542, 3059. Compare with Froissart's reference concerning 1360, that of the *Grandes Chroniques de Saint Denis*, to *toutes les chartes de la paix* in 1368 Zeller, *Charles V. et Du Guesclin*, 105.

⁵ *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 172.

⁶ *Morte Arthure*, ll. 2096, 2897, 2909, 2920. The 'genatours of Genne' (Gênes, Genoa) are thus described in Cuvelier's *Du Guesclin*, ll. 11144-5:

XX. mile Genevois sur genes chevauchant
Qui portoient les dars de coi on va lançant.

Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir* (l. 3105) calls them

Geneteurs hommes a chival.

the Spanish campaigns of the Black Prince; they are 'true to the life of 1360 or thereabout.'¹ Certain of the historical personages and places introduced enable a closer date-approximation. The King of Cyprus² is one; he visited England in 1363, and was royally entertained, the King of Scotland visiting Edward III. at the same time. Such things are the political atmosphere of the poem.

In 1359 the talk of knightly circles, expressed in a well-known chronicle (written in Anglo-French), had been of the passage to France by 'Sandwiche,' of 'Barflu,' of 'Sessoun,' of 'Vien,' of 'Millein,' of 'Costentyn,' of 'Paiters,' of 'le markeis of Mise,' of the 'Allemaunz,' of 'Lorrein,' and of 'Reyns,' of 'Troies,' of 'Turry.' In 1360 we hear further of 'Chartres' and 'Tullous,' 'Roan,' 'Came,' and 'Provynce.' The brief annals of 1361 mention 'Henaw' and 'Holand' and 'Denemark,' especially recording that the Danish king had made war on the Easterlings and reconquered much of 'Swetherik' from the king of 'Norway,' while the king of 'Lettow' had been made captive by the lords of 'Spruce.' Besides, 'le roy de Cypre' had taken a town in 'Turky' by assault. In 1362 we hear of 'Spayn,' 'Gascoigne,' 'Gyene,' 'Normandy,' and 'Burgoyne.' All these, culled from about a dozen consecutive pages of the *Scalacronica*,³ begun in the castle of Edinburgh in 1355, tally with the names which Huchown, supplementing his original, made place for in *Morte Arthure*. They shew to a marvel that his geographical embroidery of Arthur's story was taken from the topography of 1359-63, just as we have already seen⁴ that the stations on Arthur's march Romewards were borrowed from the itinerary of the time.

Indefinite additions to these evidences might be made from annals of the period, but it is proper to emphasise one or two names which appear

¹ I steal these words from a letter of Prof. W. P. Ker.

² *Morte Arthure*, 596; *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 199; *Walsingham*, sub anno 1363.

³ *Scalacronica*, 185-202. It is unnecessary to quote the corresponding names in *Morte Arthure*, but Sandwich (l. 635) may be noted as a point of Huchown's divergence from Geoffrey, who makes Southampton the port of embarkation. 'Paiters' (Poitiers) is 'Peyters' in *Morte* (l. 40). 'The Marche of Meyes' in *Morte* (2417) is well vouched by *Scalacronica*.

⁴ Ch. 2 above.

to make it certain that *Morte Arthure* can hardly have been finished before the beginning of 1365. Among the 'Sowdanes and Sarezenes' summoned to his banner by Lucius¹ are

Of Babyloyn and Baldake the burlyche knyghtes,
as well as those of 'Tartary,' and 'Turkey,' and 'Lettow,' while the
'Kynge of Cyprys' with 'all the realls of Roodes'—evidently Arthur's
ally—on shipboard in the Mediterranean, lies in wait for the Saracen
enemy.

The Kynge of Cyprys on the see the Sowdane habydes
With all the realls of Roodes arayed with him one.

So much for poetry: for history we have a great victory over the Turks, gained in November, 1364, when the Grand Master of the Hospitallers of Rhodes and many of his knights were counted among the 5000 Christian dead, while the princes of the other side (as Capgrave translates² Murimuth's continuator) 'were these: The Soudan of Babilony; the Kyng of Turkye; the Kyng of Baldak; the Kyng Belmaryn; the Kyng of Tartare; the Kyng of Lettow—of which iii were slayn.' The king of Cyprus, who had in 1361 captured Satalie by a sea-expedition, was in the end of 1364 getting ready a fleet at Venice for a similar exploit against the Sultan of Alexandria.³ There is neither Baldak, nor Lettow, nor Rhodes, nor Cyprus, nor Sultan, in Geoffrey of Monmouth (or in the translations by Layamon and Wace). The grouping, therefore, is a powerful item in the proofs⁴ for a date soon after the close of 1364 (in which connection it will not be amiss to recall Sir Hew of Eglintoun's presence in London⁵ in May, 1365), before the Cyprian swoop on Alexandria was known.

¹ *Morte*, 582-607.

² *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 201. Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 223.

³ Machaut's *Prise d'Alexandrie*, ll. 640-660, 1540-1620. Note also Cuvelier's line stating that the king 'Satalie conquist et occist le soudant,' *Du Guesclin*, l. 7443.

⁴ Sir Hew of Eglintoun's father-in-law and brother-in-law both held high position among the Scottish Hospitallers.—Mr. John Edwards in *Transac. Glasg. Archaeological Society*, new series, vol. iii., pp. 322, 326.

⁵ Safe conduct, dated 20th May, 1365. *Rot. Scot.*, i., 893^b.

Finally, to be appealed to as most oddly significant of all the notes of date in *Morte Arthure*, are the lines (1943-5) in which, after a reprimand followed by an apology to Cadur of Cornwall, his nephew, King Arthur says:

'Thare es none ischewe of us on this erthe sprongene
Thow art apparant to be ayere, are (*read* or) one of thi childyre
Thow arte my sister sone, forsake salle I never.'

Why should Arthur have made any alternative? Cadur was heir. Only because he died in battle before the king was it that not he but his son succeeded—in Geoffrey—to the throne. Why the 'or one of thy children?' It was a singular observation—like an entail—to let fall. There could be only one apparent heir. Scottish history supplies the answer, and points to the intrigue and privy agreements¹ of 1363-4, whereby the childless David II. made in so far as in him lay Edward III.² or one of his children heir-apparent to the Scottish Crown.

By the first convention Edward himself was made inheritor of the crown failing lawful issue of David II.; the Scottish Parliament rejected the proposal in March, 1364, and the substituted terms arranged that year were that one of King Edward's children other than the heir-apparent to the Crown of England should become the heir-apparent of Scotland. But the Scottish Parliament and people were obdurate, and a chief service of the agreements may be to give us confirmation of the date of *Morte Arthure*.³

¹ See these discussed in my *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* (Phil. Soc. Glas.), and in note to ch. 12, sec. 2, below.

² The terms of the first agreement of 27th November, 1363, were: Ou cas que le dit Roi d'Escoce trespasse du siecle sanz hoir engendre de son corps le devant dit Roi d'Engleterre ou quiconques qui alors en seroit Rois et ses hoirs Rois d'Engleterre aient succession heritable du dit roialme d'Escoce (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., 493).

³ The substituted proposal is contained in a document worn away in parts, but printed thus: Item ou cas que le Roi . . . au present devie sanz heir . . . de son corps et en matrimoine engendie l'un des filz du Roi d'Engleterre qui n'est pas heir apparant d'Engleterre lui succedera . . . oialme et a la coronne de Escoce (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., 495).

10. 'THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES.'

(1) *Tests to be applied.*

The sequence of the four poems already dealt with, and the significance of their mutual relation, will not appear of less account when the quartet is made a quintet—when the series closes in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*,¹ with an outline of its story, an analysis of its textual affinities, and a discussion of a source, little suspected, for its plot. Tests of each of the preceding four poems have been found in the evidence of each in succession of the use and influence of the poem before, the occurrence of entire lines as well as poetical figures and phrases in each found in one or more of the others, and features not well admitting classification, which bring out as a kind of *résumé* in the later work certain aspects of paraphrase or retrospect of the earlier performances. As applied to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (a poem found in one of Robert of Thornton's priceless manuscripts conjoined with the *Titus* and with the beautiful *Lay of the Truelove*²), the tests already seen in operation might not be satisfied by proofs of (a) identity of versification, supplemented by (b) the occurrence of detached lines and phrases held in common by (c) more than one of the antecedent suite. These alone might not serve; an exacting critic might demand demonstration that concurrently with these things there are in reasonable clearness signs (d) that the author was familiar with the authorities employed in the previous books, (e) that the characteristics and poetical method of the works compared should be analogous, and (f) that the collation should furnish instances not of general merely but of intimate suggestion of unity of authorship. A tolerably heavy load of responsibility to undertake—a load, be it said, under which the attempt to prove by internal evidence the common authorship of many

¹ *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, edited by Israel Gollancz, M.A. (Roxburghe Club, 1897). To my friend, Prof. W. P. Ker, for introducing me to this book, and lending me his copy, I can hardly be grateful enough.

² Edited from the MSS. by Mr. Gollancz—in the Dr. Furnivall birthday volume, *An English Miscellany*, 1900, under the unsatisfactory title, 'The Quatrefoil of Love.'

great pieces of English literature by their acknowledged authors would hopelessly break down! But he who takes this responsibility of maintaining the claim of Huchown to the *Parlement* can with a light heart challenge all the tests combined. The *Parlement* itself supplies all the arms its champions need. It is an alliterative poem (*a*) of the same measure as the antecedent four, (*b*) containing whole lines and very many identical phrases, not commonplace, found (*c*) in various members of the preceding quartet, while (*d*) it cites or shows close knowledge of *Alexander* and of *Troy*, of the *Brut* and of the *Voeux du Paon*, and at the same time it quotes *Titus* and *Morte Arthure*, and presents clear analogies not only with the *Pistill of Sweet Susan*, but also—it is of grave moment to remark it—with *Gaywayne and the Green Knight*. The analogy of (*e*) poetical mode among the five poems is fairly absolute, passing through a phase of sheer and simple translation to one of expanded paraphrase and narrative, partly independent, resting at many points upon authority, but with constant deviations into originality. Finally, (*f*) the *Parlement* binds together the whole range of the work of Huchown in a manner at once intimate and explicit.

These be large assertions; and now—after the plot of the story itself—there come the proofs.

(2) *The Plot of the 'Parlement.'*

The *Parlement* is a work accessible only in a very limited club edition. The story it tells, therefore, may becomingly be told here in fuller outline than was thought necessary in any other item of the quartet. It opens with a magnificent hunting picture of the stalking of a deer, "In the month of May when mirthes been fele," in which the hero, waiting beside a tree in the woods, caught sight of a hart. Creeping under a crabtree he was about to shoot when a buck that was with the hart sounded the alarm, and the sportsman had to lie low for a while in spite of the gnats which greatly him grieved and gnawed his 'eghne.' Soon as the opportunity came he drew his bow and shot, hitting the hart behind the left shoulder. Then he flayed and disembowelled the prize after the approved rules of venery, which done, he sat down in the warm sunshine and fell asleep.

As natural in the romance period, the sleep was not wasted, the inevitable dream came—the dream which is the remainder of the poem.

‘And what I saw in my soul, the sooth I shall tell.’

He saw three men quarrel. The first was a gallant young noble on horseback clad in green, decked with a chaplet of flowers, his collar and sleeves set with jewels.

‘The price of that perry were worth pounds full many.’

He was thirty years of age, he was young and ‘yape,’ says our poet, and YOUTH was his name.

The second man was a sober personage in grey sitting full of thought about his money, his lands, his rent, and his cattle. He was sixty, and men called him MIDDLE ELDE.

The third had a hundred years. All in black, bald, blind, white-bearded, crooked, toothless, and pious, he mumbled the Creed and invoked the saints. This was the last of the trio whom the poet made interlocutors in his ‘parlement,’ and ELDE was his name.

Youth reveals himself carolling in his saddle as he goes, making to his absent lady love a ‘high avow.’ Middle Elde reproaches him for his extravagance. Youth will none of Middle Elde’s worldly wisdom. He will, he retorts, rather make and perform his high avow than own all the gold ever Middle Elde got. Then would he go a-hawking, and he describes in glowing terms the falcon soaring like heaven’s angel, to swoop on mallard and heron, which fall beneath the stroke. Next the falconers treat the quarry as the code of falconry requires, and the episode closes when the hoods are put on the hawks, and Youth figures himself on the way home—

‘With ladies full lovely to lappen in mine arms.’

The man in russet-grey has just begun angrily to expostulate when the old worthy in black strikes in between to preach a sermon which lasts till nearly the very end of the poem—a sermon which, as one listens to it, grows ever more and more nobly eloquent of the Middle Ages, eloquent of its literature and literary standards, eloquent of the culture of the Scottish Court under the Bruces and the Stewarts, eloquent above all of the majestic poetic stature

of Huchown of the Awle Ryale. For this sermon, with which Age silences the vain jangling of Youth and Middle Age, this sermon of Elde, wise with the lore of Time, although its moral be the trite moral of Death, yet preaches it, as rarely preached before, by compressing into brief compass the whole romance story of the Middle Ages. It tells of Hector and the heroes of Troy; tells of Alexander and the worthies whom remote Egyptian fiction and more recent French romance had sent into the field with him; tells of Caesar and the Tower of London; tells of gentle Joshua and David the doughty, and Judas Machabeus—'Jews full jolly and jousters full noble'; then flings itself heart and soul upon King Arthur and Sir Galahad 'the good that the gree wan,' Sir Lancelot of the Lake, Sir Kay, and all the Round Table, with the spotless Sir Gawayne and the frail fair Guinevere. His list of the Noble Nine, after mere mention of Godfrey of Bouillon, concludes with a long passage concerning Charlemagne, mentioning amongst other heroes Roland and Oliver and Ogier the Dane,¹ and telling that tale of Ferumbras and the Brig of Mantribe, which Barbour,² perhaps with some poetic license, placed on the lip of Robert the Bruce to cheer his dispirited followers as they crossed Loch Lomond during the ill-omened campaign of 1306. And the sum of all is—the lesson of life as told by him in black from the mighty careers of the foremost warriors of Time—

'Now have I named you the names of Nine of the best
That ever were in this world wist upon earth,
And the doughtiest of deeds in their days' time,
But Doughtiness when Death comes ne dare not abide.'

What was true of prowess in battle the pessimist Elde found also of learning. Aristotle and Solomon and Merlin, these were the wisest of the world, but their wit was powerless against Death. Nor was love, nor beauty itself, exempt. Amadace and Ydoine, Samson and Delilah, Generydes the gentle and Clarionas the clere,³ Eglamour and Christabel, Tristram and Iseult, Dido of Carthage and Candace of Babylon, Penelope and

¹ 'Ogere Deauncys' (l. 523). For the significance of this and of Generydes mentioned below see ch. 9 above, sections 5 and 6.

² *Bruce*, iii., 405-465.

³ See reference to *Generydes* in ch. 9 above, sec. 5.

Guinevere—through the glittering catalogue of romance heroes and heroines he marches mournfully to the old old tune—Death will have his way: nothing is certain but Death. At the close Elde the wise commands Youth and Middle Elde to cease their wrangle, for Elde is sire of Middle Elde and Middle Elde of Youth, and he, their sire and grandsire, bids them

Haves good day for now I go, to grave must me wend,
Death dings on my door, I dare no longer bide.

Here the dreamer—he that had hunted the deer and fallen asleep—heard a bugle blow full loud, and woke to find that the sun had set and "Thus ends the Thre Ages."

Peradventure we also, if our slumbers in the forest are not too sound, may chance to hear a bugle blow, and mark how the bent echoes with Huchown's trumpet note.

(3) *Parallels of the 'Parlement.'*

The hunting scene as a whole and the hawking picture, too, fit to a miracle into the structure of Huchown's work if, as may be assumed (in spite of critical *dicta* to the contrary), Sir Frederick Madden was right in understanding Wyntown's reference to the *Aventyre of Gawane* as referring explicitly to *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. In *Gawayne* there were described three hunts—respectively of a deer, a boar, and a fox. In the other extant poems there are indeed many passing and often intimate allusions to the chase, but no detailed description. This story in the *Parlement*, therefore, describing how the deer was shot and how the falcon brought the heron down, is most opportune to fill a gap. These picturesquely technical accounts in no way overlap what the poet has written elsewhere, and yet there are points at which the different references to the deer hunt touch each other so as to reveal identity of workmanship. Mr. Gollancz has well said that these descriptions are supplementary. To reckon them complementary would be still better. The points of contact with *Gawayne*¹ are special enough to call for treatment by themselves.

¹ Of course I am aware of certain analogies in hunting matters with *Sir Tristram*, but the present correspondences are verbally exact, and most intimate.

Gawayne.

- 1455 Haled to hym of her arewez,
hitten hym oft.
- 1609-10 Braydez out the boweles . . . his
braches rewardez.
- 1328-9 Serched him at the asay summe
that ther were,
Two fyngeres thay fonde. . . .
- 1330 . . . sesed the erber.
- 1332 Sythen rytte thay the foure
lymmes and rent off the hyde.
- 1337 Then scher thay out the schulderez
with her sharp knyvez.
- 1355 And the corbeles fee thay kest in
a greve.
- 1330 . . . thay slyt the slot. . . .
- 1339 [Object aimed at] to have hole
sydes.
- 1335 . . . thay gryped . . . and
graythely departed.
- 1347 And that thay neme for the
nombres. . . .
- 1341 Ryvez hit up radly ryght to the
hyght.
- 1608 . . . rendez him . . . bi the
rygge. . . .
- 1357 . . . the fourchez. . . .
- 1353-4 Bothe the hede and the hals thay
hwen of thenne
And sythen sunder thay the
sydez swyft fro the chyne.
- 1346 And heven hit up al hole.
- 1028 Of the were of the wyld swyn. . .

Parlement.

- 53-4 And I halled to the hokes. . . .
And happenyd that I hiit hym. . .
- 69 Brayde out his bowells my berselett
to fede.
- 70-71 And I sisilte hym at the assay to
see how me semyde
And he was floreschede full faire of
two fyngere brode.
- 73-82 And ritte doun at a rase reght to
the taylor
And than the herbere anone aftir I
makede.
- I raughte the righte legge before,
ritt it ther aftir
And so fro legge to legge I lepe
thaym aboute
And the felle fro the fete fayre I
departede
And flewe it doun with my fiste
faste to the rigge.
- I tighte owte my trenchore and toke
of the scholdirs
Cuttede corbyns bone and kest it
awaye.
- I slite hym full sleghely and
slyppede in my fyngere
Lesse the poynte scholde perche the
pawneche or the guttys.
- 85-87 I grippede owte the guttes and
graythede theym besyde,
And than the nombres anone name
I there aftire
Rent up fro the rigge reghte to the
myddis.
- 88 . . . the fourches. . . .
- 89-90 And chynede hym chefeldy and
choppede of the nekke
And the hede and the haulse
homelyde in sondree
- 92 And hevede alle into ane hole.
- 99 To wayte it frome wyld swyne. . . .

Gawayne.

- 2175 The knyght kachez his caple.
 1158 The hindez were halden in with
 'hay' and 'war.'
 1445 . . . halowed . . . 'hay'
 'hay.'
 1655 As coundutes of krystmasse and
 carolez newe.
 2525 After the segge and the asaute [of
 Troy].
 1584 Braydez out a bryght bront. . .
 1901 And braydez out the bryght bronde.
 . . .
 2419 . . . Barsabe that much bale
 tholed.
 2448 The maystres of Merlyn. . .
 1928 He were a bleaunt. . .
 2446 Thurgh myght of Morgne la Faye.

Parlement.

- 189 And thu hafe caughte thi kaple.
 223 With 'hoo' and 'howghe' to the
 heron. . .
 254 With coundythes and carolles.
 303 [Troy] cite asseged and sayled.
 371 And brayde owte the bryghte
 brande. . .
 453 For Bersabee . . . was alle that
 bale rerede.
 469 That Merlyn with his maystries
 made. . .
 482 He made a blyot. . .
 511 . . . Morgn la fay that myche
 couthe of sleghte.

Lest anybody should urge that these are chance coincidences, I append a brief list of others which connect *Gawayne* equally with some poems of which we have heard a good deal in this essay.

Alexander.

- [*Exordium*] 15 And I forwith yow alle
 ettillis to schewe.
Alex. 3020 Was never sene I suppoise
 sen the seye of Troye.
 778 Stridis into stele bowe stertis
 apon loft.
 1540 . . . wodwose and other wylde
 bestes.
 2617 The cry of the clarions the
 clodez it persyd.

Titus.

- 1244 . . . gretter than a grehounde . . .
 54 Cloudes clateren gon as they cleve
 wolde.

Gawayne.

- [*Exordium*] 27 Forthi an aunter in erde
 I attle to schawe.
 1 Sithen the sege and the assaut
 watz sesed at Troye.
 435 Steppez in to stel bawe and
 strydez alofte.
Cf. 2060 Steppez he into stirop and
 strydez alofte.
 721-2 . . . wodwos . . . bullez and
 berez and borez.
 1166 . . . kry as klyffez haden brusten.

Gawayne.

- 1171 . . . grehoundez so grete . . .
 2201 . . . clatered in the clyff as it cleve
 schulde.

Titus.

849-50 . . . with dynnyng of pipis
And the nakerer noyse . . .

Morte Arthure.

3151 Into Tuskane he tourne . . .
532-3 For whyeseste and worthyest and
wyghteste of haunde.
Of all . . . this werlde ryche.
451 . . . one nyghte nede moste thou
lenge.

Gawayne.

118 Nwe nakryn noise with the noble
pipes.

Gawayne.

11 Ticius [turnes] to Tuskan.
261 The wyzest and the worthyest of the
worldes kynde.
693 . . . alone he lengez on nyghtez.

Having now left in no doubt the intimate relation between the *Parlement* and *Gawayne*, we may turn to a general grouping of certain other parallels, reminding ourselves before we begin that the *Parlement* has only 665 lines, thus offering numerically a much smaller area of comparison than the greater pieces do.

Parlement.

<i>Troy</i>	12969	Hit was the moneth of May when mirthes begyn.	1	In the moneth of Maye when mirthes bene fele.
<i>Morte</i>	3249	Downkyng of dewe. . . .	10	The dewe . . . donkede. . . .
<i>Troy</i>	2736	Burjons of bowes brethit full swete.	11	Burgons and blossomes and braunches full swete.
<i>Morte</i>	930	They threpide with the throstills. . . .	14	. . . the throstills full throly threpen. . . .
<i>Alex.</i>	2264	. . . fayne . . . as fowelle of the day.	15-6	And iche foule in that frythe fay- nere than other That the derke was done and the day lightenede.
<i>Titus</i>	1005	Fayn as the foul of day . . .		
<i>Titus</i>	850	Whan the derk was doun and the day spryngen.		
<i>Troy</i>	1079	Wen the derke was done and the day sprange.		
<i>Troy</i>	2378	. . . sleghly on slepe. . . .	36	. . . sleghe . . . slepe. . . .
<i>Morte</i>	3467	. . . stalkis . . . stille . . . }	41	. . . stalkede full stilly. . . .
<i>Morte</i>	3468	. . . stotays . . . studyande. }	51	. . . stotayde and stelkett.
<i>Troy</i>	8045	That the blode out brast . . .	55	That the blode braste owte appon both the sydes.
<i>Troy</i>	10424	. . . bent blodly be-ronnen.	62	. . . brakans were blodly by-ronnen.
<i>Titus</i>	1070	Ded as a dore nayle. . . .	65	Dede als a door nayle. . . .
<i>Troy</i>	524	. . . thro men threpe and thretyms. . . .	104	. . . thre thro men threpen. . . .
<i>Titus</i>	269	A bold burne on a blonk . . .	110	A holde beryn on a blonke bowne for to ryde.

<i>Parlement.</i>			
<i>Alex.</i>	792	Than strenys he hys steropes and streght up sittes.	116 He streghte hym in his steropis and stode up rightes.
<i>Awentyrs</i>	510	. . . with trayfoles and trewluffes bytwene.	120 With trayfoyles and trewloves of full triede perles.
<i>Alex.</i>	1538	With riche rabies of golde railed bi the hemmes.	128 With full rich rubyes raylede by the hemmes.
<i>Morte</i>	3264	Raylide with reched and rubyes inewe.	
<i>Awentyrs</i>	17	Raylede with rubes . . .	
<i>Morte</i>	3964	My wele and my wirchipe of alle this werlde riche.	175 My wele and my wirchipe in werlde where thou dwellys.
<i>Morte</i>	3959-60	Here es the hope of my hele my happyge of armes. My herte. . . .	177 Alle my hope and my hele myn herte is thyn owen.
<i>Titus</i>	969	I have heylych heyght. . . .	178 I behete the a hest and heghely I avowe.
<i>Troy</i>	13824	Had a glaive, a full grym grippit in honde.	202 With a grym grownden glayfe graythely in my honde.
<i>Morte</i>	3762-3	. . . gryme launce That the growndene glayfe graythes in sondyre.	
<i>Titus</i>	883	Ride to the rever and rer up the foules.	208 And ryde to a reve. ¹ . . .
			217 To the reveve with thaire roddes to rere up the fowlis.
<i>Morte</i>	6	. . . kayre till his courte. . . .	246 . . . kayre to the courte. . . .
<i>Morte</i>	3293	And ladys me lovede to lappe in theyre armes.	247 With ladys full lovely to lappyn in myn armes.
<i>Troy</i>	10097	. . . wandrit and woke for woo. . . .	257 . . . with wandrynge and wo schalte wake. . . .
<i>Morte</i>	2370	. . . wakkens wandrethe and werre. . . .	
<i>Morte</i>	975	. . . dolvene and dede. . . .	258 . . . dolven and dede. . . .
<i>Morte</i>	2216	Threppede . . . thryttene sythis.	262 . . . threpid this thirtene wyntir.
<i>Morte</i>	2770	And alle dysfegoures his face . . .	284 And all disfeguride my face and fadide my hewe.
		Cf. 155 Alle disfigured was his face and fadit his hewe.	

¹ This in its hawking connexion is *riparia* in medieval Latin. *Juxta quandam ripariam falconum aucupio se exerceret*—is written of Edward III. in Trivet's *Annales* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 282.

<i>Alex.</i>	5655	Now sall I nevyne yow the names. . . .	{	297	And I schall nevyyn yow the names of nyne of the beste.
<i>Morte</i>	3440	Alles nynne of the nobilleste namede in erthe.			
<i>Morte</i>	3496	Ne for no wy of this werlde that wroghte es one erthe.		298	That ever wy in this werlde wiste appon erthe.
<i>Awentyrs</i>	639	. . . no wy in this werlde. . . .			[Lines 297-8 are almost exactly repeated 580-1.]
<i>Morte</i>	3408	That were conquerours kydde and crownede in erthe.		299.	That were conquerours full kene and kiddleste of other.

[Both passages referring to the Nine Worthies.]

<i>Troy</i>	14031	. . . Ector the honourable oddist of knyghtes.	300	. . . Sir Ector and aldeste of tyme.
	3879	. . . Ector the eldest.		
<i>Alex.</i>	1114	The mody kyng. . . .	302	. . . the mody kynge. . . .
<i>Titus</i>	1039	. . . the mody kyng. . . .		
<i>Gawayne</i>	1	. . . the sege and the assault [Troy].	303	. . . assegede and sayled it [Troy].
<i>Troy</i>	9506	Paris the prise knight.	305	Paresche the proude knyghte.
<i>Troy</i>	14006	(rubric) Thies Ector slough with hond of kynges.	307-8	And as clerkes in the cronyele counten the sothe Nowmbren thaym to xix and ix mo by tale Of kynges with crounes he killede with his handes.
[The list "all of du kynges," lines 14006-14021, has eighteen names.]			310	. . . als ferly wer ellis.
<i>Alex.</i>	1814	. . . as mervale ware ellis	315	With the wyles of a woman. . . .
<i>Troy</i>	668	Thurghe wyles of woman. . .		
<i>Gawayne</i>	2415	. . . thurg wyles of wymmen. . . .		
<i>Troy</i>	1377-8	. . . girdyn down the wallys Prowde pales of prise puttyn to grounde.	318-9	And with the Gregeis of Grece he girde over the walles The prowde paleys dide he pulle doun to the erthe.
<i>Troy</i>	2067	. . . lure that was light. . . .	323	. . . lure at the last lighte. . . .
<i>Morte</i>	2596	. . . Syr Priamus, a prince is my fadyre.	324	. . . Sir Priamus the prynce. . . .
<i>Morte</i>	4345	Syr Pryamous the prynce.		
<i>Troy</i>	1487	Was Troylus the true trusty in wer.	326	Sir Troylus a trewe knyghte that trustyly hade foughten.
<i>Troy</i>	9991	Troiell the tru knight. . . .		
<i>Troy</i>	3818	Neptolon nobill.	327	Neptolemus a noble knyghte.

<i>Parlement.</i>			
<i>Troy</i>	5892	Palomedon the prise king.	328 Palamedes a prise knyghte.
[<i>Troy</i>	55-65	Reference to Dares and Dytes].	331 As Dittes and Dares demeden to-gedir.
<i>Alex.</i>	18	[Alexander] aghte . . . alle the wer[l]d ovire.	
<i>Troy</i>	315	[Alexander] wan all the world.	332 After this sir Alysaunder alle the worlde wanne.
<i>Troy</i>	312	[The pillars of Hercules.]	334 Ercules boundes [Referring to the pillars of Hercules.]
<i>Troy</i>	881	(rubric) How Jason wan the flese of golde.	338 . . . gentille Jazon the Jewe wane the flese of golde.
<i>Troy</i>	867	Jason . . . gentill knight.	
<i>Morte</i>	2606	Judas and Josue thise gentille knyghtes.	
<i>Titus</i>	782	. . . a Jew Josophus the gentyl clerke	
<i>Alex.</i>	3972	Quen Sir Porus saghe his princes in the prese faille.	{ 365 Sir Porus and his prynces. 368 For there Sir Porus the prynce into the presse thyrnges.
<i>Alex.</i>	3998	Porris as a prince. . . .	
<i>Morte</i>	4216	He braydes owte a brand bryghte. . . .	371 And brayde owte the bright brande. . .
<i>Gawayne</i>	1584	Braydez out a bryght bront. . .	
<i>Gawayne</i>	1901	And braydez out the bryght bronde. . . .	
<i>Alex.</i>	1831	Sire Alexander athille kyng.	384 Alexandere oure athell kyng.
<i>Alex.</i>	5399	[Alexander styled] oure mode kyng.	Cf. 484 Arthure oure athell kyng.
[Alexander styled Emperor constantly in the <i>Alexander</i> .]			
<i>Alex.</i>	2395	Than amed thai to ser Alexander. . . .	394 Sir Alexander oure Emperour ames hym to ryde.
<i>Troy</i>	314	The Emperour Alexander. . . .	
<i>Alex.</i>	5611	Now bowis furth this baratour and Babyloyn he wynnys.	395 And bewes towards Babyloyne. . . [Said of Alexander.]
[Said of Alexander.]			
<i>Titus</i>	971	And me the zates ben zet and zolden the keyes.	398 While hym the zatis were zete and zolden the keyes. [Repeated 575.]
<i>Titus</i>	1233	Bot up zeden her zates and zelden hem alle.	Cf. 535 While hym his zernynge was zett and the zates opynede.

Parlement.

- Morte* 4172 . . . drynkles they dye dole 400 Thare he was dede of a drynke as
was the more. dole es to here.
- 4241 That derfe dynt was his
dede and dole was the
more.
- Titus* 1093 . . . that doil was to hure. Cf. 452 There he was dede at that dede as
dole es to here.
- Alex.* 1608 The welder of all the werld 404 And thus the worthieste of this
and worthiest under
wyld.

[Said of Alexander.]

- Alex.* 18 That aghte evyn as his 406 Alle Englande he aughte at his
awynn alle the wer[l]d
ovire.
[Said of Caesar.]
Cf. same line repeated (465) con-
cerning Arthur.
- Morte* 576 Araby and Egipt. . . . 418 Arraby and Egipt. . . .
- Morte* 2658 Sessoyne and Surylande. 419 Surry and Sessoyne. . . .
- Morte* 2606 . . . Josue . . . gentille. . . . 426 . . . gentil Josue that was a Jewe
noble.
- Pistill* 2 . . . Jezu gentil. 433 . . . mode walle that made were. . .
- Titus* 1283 Mortar ne made walle. . . 438 . . . Sathanas unsele have their
bones.
- Morte* 2935 . . . the develle have your
bones.
- Titus* 473 Of doughty David the king. 441 Than David the doughty . . .
- Morte* 3419-20 For he slewe with a slynge 444-5 The grete grym Golyas he to grounde
be sleyght of his hands
broughte
Golyas the grette gome
And sloghe hym with his slynge and
grymmeste in erthe. with no sleghte elles.
- Cf. *Troy* 1296 Slogh hom downe sleggly
and slaunge hom to
grounde.
- Troy* 9038 Slogh hom down sleggly
with sleght of his hond.
- [See also Mr. Donaldson's note in *Troy*,
page 481.]
- Titus* 1203 Wer ded of that dynt . . . 447 And he was dede of that dynt the
devyll hafe that reche.
- Titus* 779 . . . the devel have that
recche.
- Morte* 3413 . . . Judas a justere fulle 459 ...Jeuës full joly and justers full noble.
nobile.
- Morte* 3415 . . . Josue that joly mane
f armes.

		<i>Parlement.</i>	
<i>Morte</i>	17	Off the ryealle renkys of the rowunde table.	468 With renkes full ryalle of his rowunde table.
<i>Morte</i>	3707	Thane syr Gawayne the gude he has the gree wonnene.	473 Bot Sir Galade the gude that the gree wanne.
<i>Morte</i>	1368	Thane syr Gawayne the gude . . .	475 And sir Gawayne the gude . . .
<i>Morte</i>	1152	Thenne sir Kayous the kene . . .	477 And sir Kay the kene . . .
<i>Titus</i>	767	. . . thogh ye fey worthe.	485 . . . till he was fey worthen.
<i>Troy</i>	929	. . . dreppitt the dragon . . .	488 . . . a dragon he dreped . . .
<i>Morte</i>	304	. . . beryne of Bretayne . . .	490 . . . beryns of Bretayne . . .
<i>Titus</i>	26	. . . alle Gascoyne gat and Gyan . . .	491 Gascoyne and Gyane gat he . . .
<i>Morte</i>	4309	And graythes to Glasschenbery the gate at the gay-neste.	494 The gates towards Glassthenbery full graythely he rydes.
<i>Morte</i>	541	. . . this werlde bot wyr-chipe . . .	519 . . . wirchupe of this werlde . . .
<i>Troy</i>	10306	Slough him . . . with sleight of his hond.	533 . . . he sloghe with his handis.
<i>Alex.</i>	1232	Bot with a swyng of a swerde swappez of hys heved.	551 And one swyftely with a swerde swapped of his hede.
<i>Troy</i>	13024	And with the swing of a swerde swappit hir to dethe.	
<i>Morte</i>	2982	And with a swerde swifly he swappes him thorowe.	
<i>Morte</i>	3427-9	. . . the crowne that Crist bare hymselfene And that lifeliche launce that lepe to his herte When he was cruefyfede on crose and alle the kene naylis.	553-4 . . . the corownne that criste had one hede And the nayles anone naytly there aftire.
<i>Titus</i>	8	Throw Pylat pynded he was and put on the rode.	555 When he with passyoun and pyne was naylede on the rode.
<i>Titus</i>	497-9 Crist one That this peple to pyne . . . That preveth his passioun.	
<i>Alex.</i>	48	Than was hym bodword unblyth brought . . .	558 And than bodworde . . . full boldly . . .
<i>Troy</i>	8315	And the bodword brought to the bold kyng.	

			<i>Parlement.</i>	
<i>Morte</i>	1979	Forsette them the cite appon sere halfez.	574	And that cite he assegede appone sere halves.
<i>Troy</i>	2416	To have and to hold . . .	577	To kepe it and to hold it to hym and to his ayers.
				[A well-known legal phrase answering to the form in Latin deeds, <i>Habendum et tenen-</i> <i>dum.</i>]
<i>Morte</i>	3440, 3496.		580-81	[These almost repeat 297-8.]
<i>Morte</i>	3443-4	in my days . . . for dedis of armes	582	And the doghtyeste of dedis in thaire dayes tyme.
		For the doughtyeste that ever was duelland in erthe.		
<i>Alex.</i>	24	The wysest wees of the wer[l]de.	585	Of wyghes that were wysest . . . [Introducing Aristotle of 'Alexander's time.']
<i>Alex.</i>	247	The wysest wees in this wer[l]d.	Cf. 610	Theis were the wysest in the worlde.
<i>Troy</i>	49	Virgill the virtuus . . .	594	Virgill thurgh his vertus . . .
<i>Morte</i>	233	Sir Gawayne the worthy Dame Waynour he hledys.	629	And dame Gaynore the gay . . .
<i>Aventyrs</i>	14	. . . the gay dame Gaye- nour . . .		
<i>Aventyrs</i>	313	Hafe gud daye . . . I hafe na langare tyme For me buse wende on my waye . . . Unto my wonnyng wane in waa for to dwelle.	653-4	And 'Haves gud daye' for now I go to grave moste me wende Dethe dynges on my dore I dare no langare byde.
<i>Morte</i>	454	Lugge thiselfe undyre lynde.	663	. . . lugede me in the leves . . .
<i>Morte</i>	3800	For dere Dryghtyne this daye . . .	664	For dere Dryghtyne this daye . . .
<i>Morte</i>	2872	[Marie] that mylde qwene . . . [The <i>Lay of the Truelove</i> refers to Christ as crowning His mother Queen of Heaven.]	665	Marie that is mylde quene . . .

A summation of these parallels brings results sufficiently striking. Out of 665 lines there are over 120 which contain more or less notable alliterative phrases also found in the antecedent quartet; over and above are the parallelisms with *Gawayne*. Particularly to be observed are 23 lines, practically whole lines, coincident with practically whole lines elsewhere, as under:

LINEs OF 'PARLEMENT' ALMOST IDENTICAL WITH LINEs OF 'ALEXANDER,'
'TROY,' 'TITUS,' AND 'MORTE ARTHURE.'

<i>Parlement.</i>	<i>Alexander.</i>	<i>Troy.</i>	<i>Titus.</i>	<i>Morte Arthure.</i>
116, 128, 368, 551.	1792, 1538,			
	3972, 1232.			
1, 11, 318, 326.	- - -	12969, 2736,		
		1377, 1487.		
16, 217, (398, 575),	- - -	- - -	850, 883, 971	
447, 491.			(1203, 779), 26.	
202, 247, 297,	- - -	- - -	- - -	3762-3, 3293, 3440,
298, 299.				3496, 3408.
444-5, 468.	- - -	- - -	- - -	3419-20, 17.
473, 494.	- - -	- - -	- - -	3707, 4309.

Surely it is of extreme and final value as part of the great argument with which this treatise began that in this comparison of entire lines, out of the twenty-three four are from the *Alexander*, four from the *Troy*, five from the *Titus*, and ten from *Morte Arthure*. Falling to be added are the many broken lines distributed in different proportions among the various books in question. To be added also are the special coincidences with *Gawayne*. And after all these there comes yet another argument of inestimable strength deduced from a search after the sources of the *Parlement*, that poem which ends the series of five.

(4) *Main Sources of the 'Parlement.'*

In examining the hunting scene which opens the poem we saw that *Gawayne* had been within the poet's view. We shall see where the hunt began. But first it is to be said that besides *Gawayne* and *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*, there is unanswerable evidence that the poet used the *Brut*,¹ which he expressly names.² Not only so, he also knew and used the other principal authority followed in *Morte Arthure*, the *Voeux du Paon*. This appears from his narrating³ the Foray of Gadres (*Fuerre de Gadres*) as well as the whole effect of the Avows of Alexander and Battle of Effesoun as contained in the *Voeux du Paon*. Dares and Dictys he cites⁴—at second hand probably just as he did in

¹ *Parl.*, 462-512.

² *Parl.*, 407.

³ *Parl.*, 332-395.

⁴ *Parl.*, 331.

the *Troy*¹—and the *De Preliis Alexander* must be assumed to have been the source of part of the Alexander narrative, including the mention of Queen Candace² and the death of Alexander at the hands of the 'cursed Cassander.'³ A distinct community of authorities between the *Parlement* and the antecedent poems is thus established—further corroborated by the inclusion in the part relative to Alexander of a confused reference to the Gog and Magog legend comprising a passage about the coming of Antichrist, no doubt taken from Maundeville.⁴

There remains to be stated a yet more remarkable proposition, which is that fundamentally the story of the three ages is an expansion of an episode in the *Troy*, and that here once more we have a testimony to the infinite poetic suggestion referable to Guido de Columpna. We return to the hunting scene in the *Parlement* to recall the facts. The hero is engaged in the chase alone. He ties his dog to a birch tree.⁵ He sees a hart,⁶ which he approaches and shoots. After disembowelling the quarry he sits down in the woodland under birch tree boughs with leaves light and green.⁷ The sun is so hot that he grows drowsy and sleeps⁸—sleeps and dreams a 'dreghe' dream⁹ of the strife of three men, one in green, one in gray, and one in black. What was the root from which this powerful story grew? If I may have faith in the evidences before me the root sprang from Italian seed, no doubt itself in turn a product of the Greek. Paris in the *Troy*, like the hero in the *Parlement*, went hunting.¹⁰ Outstripping his comrades, he was alone¹¹ in the forest—that classic forest which Huchown's translation does not name, but which Guido did, the *nemus quod Yda vocatur*.¹²

He sees a hart¹³ too. He gives chase, but it escapes. He has no dog, but his horse, weary with the pursuit, he ties to a bough.¹⁴ He lies down

¹ *Troy*, 60.

² *Parl.*, 396.

³ *Parl.*, 401. Cassander is not named in this connection either in *Julius Valerius*, in (Michelant's ed.) *Romans d'Alexandre*, pp. 508-9, or in the *Voeux du Paon*. He is so mentioned in the *De Preliis*, at the close where the alliterative translation is missing.

⁴ *Maundeville* (Wright), ch. 26, MS. T. 4, i. fo. 266 + 59-59b.

⁵ *Parl.*, 39.

⁶ *Parl.*, 25.

⁷ *Parl.*, 98, 100, 661-3.

⁸ *Parl.*, 100.

⁹ *Parl.*, 101-2.

¹⁰ *Troy*, 2345.

¹¹ *Troy*, 2358.

¹² Hunterian MS., T. 4, i. fo. 27.

¹³ *Troy*, 2353.

¹⁴ *Troy*, 2371.

'in a shadow of shene tres,'¹ for the sun is hot.² He sleeps,³ and dreams 'dreghtly'⁴ the great dream of the strife of three goddesses—Venus and Juno and Pallas—as arbiter in which he is to determine the award of the golden apple. If he gives it to Juno his reward will be to be 'mightiest on molde,'⁵ if to Pallas he will be 'wisest of wit,'⁶ if to Venus love will be his.⁷

This is the absolute key of the *Parlement*—explaining the ideal of Youth with his avows, Middle Elde in his lust for possessions and power, and Elde's lofty sermon drawn from the deeds of the doughty and the lives of the sages, especially Solomon,

'And he was the wisest in wit that ever wonned in earth.'

'Wisest in wit'—it was the very phrase of Pallas's bribe. The whole spirit of the two dreams, if not quite the same, at least runs a most singular parallel.

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2407-9) the gift offered by Juno comes first:

'To be mightiest on molde and most of all other.'

In the *Parlement* vision (lines 293-583) Elde begins with the Nine Worthies, the warriors whom he then deals with in detail—

'Nine of the best
That ever wy in this world wist upon earth
That were conquerors full kene and kiddest of other.'

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2410-12) the gift offered by Pallas comes second:

'Thou shalt be wisest of wit.'

In the *Parlement* vision, when the poet has closed his record of the warriors with a sigh, pointing his moral that doughtiness, when death comes, may stay no longer, he tells next (lines 584-611) of the fate of the wise:

'Of wyghes that were wisest will ye now hear.'

And so he preaches of Aristotle and Virgil, Solomon and Merlin, who were fated to die too:

'These were the wisest in the world of wit that ever yet were,
But death wondes for no wit to wend where him likes.'

¹ *Troy*, 2372-3.

² *Troy*, 2374. Overhild for the hete hengyng with leves.

³ *Troy*, 2378.

⁴ *Troy*, 2379.

⁵ *Troy*, 2408.

⁶ *Troy*, 2411.

⁷ *Troy*, 2414.

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2413-15) the gift of love offered by Venus comes last. So, last, in the *Parlement* vision comes the stanza (lines 612-630) which is so fine a romance catalogue of lovers.

A moment given to analysis of the two visions demonstrates that the *Parlement* simply adapts the vision of Paris, brings it from the slopes of Mount Ida to our own woodlands, where the throstle, the cuckoo, and the cushat sing, and the fox, the fulmart, and the hare are denizens. But the poet transforms it too, making the pagan dream into a Christian ode on the invincibility of death. Great are the gifts of Juno and Pallas and Venus, so the pagan dreamer told: 'all vain and vanities and vanity is all' was the sore verdict of pious Elde.

'Since doughtiness when death comes ne dare not abide,
Ne death wondes for no wit to wend where him likes,
And thereto paramours and pride puts he full low,
Ne there is riches ne rent may ransom your lives,
Ne nought is siccar to yourself ne certain but death.'

In fine, is not the *Parlement* simply the dream of Paris reconstituted for British latitudes and having appended an old-new moral? The oak tree of the *Parlement* grew from Guido's acorn, planted by Huchown in the *Troy*. And the entire body of the narrative points to the same poetic unity, the same paternity in Huchown's busy brain. The *Gawayne* unites with the *Troy* to explain and produce the initial hunting picture. The *Voeux du Paon*, already familiarised in the poet's mind, directly supplies the suggestion of the Nine Worthies, contributing much even of the substance of the poem. Examining the various contributory sections of the *précis* of the lives of the illustrious Nine, we readily devise a canon of test. Surely if the poet was the same as erewhile wrote the other poems we should expect to find in this one, that when he touches Hector we should find traces of the *Troy*, and that when he touches Arthur we should find traces of *Morte Arthure*. How completely the *Parlement* responds to the test! The 31 lines on Hector (*Parl.*, 300-331) touch the *Troy* by direct reminiscence and repetition of special epithets almost every second line. On King Alexander (*Parl.*, 332-404) the earlier poem is much less slenderly represented, no doubt because when the *Parlement* was written the poet was drawing on two new sources, the *Fuerre de Gadres* and the *Voeux du Paon*: still there are characteristic

touches from the *Alexander*. Of Caesar we have something, of Joshua something, of David something, of Judas Machabeus something,—all from *Morte Arthure*, of which these worthies were only a side theme; while of Arthur, its central theme, we have in 51 lines (462-512), a clear body of matter, including identical lines and not admitting of hostile debate. On Charlemagne, a number of lines from the *Alexander*, the *Troy*, the *Titus*, and the *Morte Arthure* serve abundantly the purpose of proving the closeness of the ties of association between any one of Huchown's heroes and all the others. Indeed, the *Parlement* enables us to be retrospective, and suppose with considerable probability that *Morte Arthure* had already drawn for at least three of its lines (3427-9) upon the same version¹ of the romance of Ferumbras and the Sowdan, as was utilised in the *Parlement*.

If proof by internal evidence is to establish anything, this extraordinary concatenation surely is irresistible. The method of proof adopted is only that which others have already used in a small degree for other works: only here the links are far more numerous, and far more closely drawn together than they have ever been before. To deny difficulties is no part of this argument: the proposition is that adopting the very processes of comparison which commended themselves to some of my predecessors, I reach a broader conclusion than theirs, the logic of which constrains the acceptance of the *Parlement* as bringing up the rear of the great series of poems which proceeded from one prolific pen.

II. HUCHOWN'S COPY OF 'GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.'

'Ring by ring,' said the French adage, 'is made the habergeon.' The argument from internal evidence before set forth was complete, and the original papers had both been read, when the prosecution of the quest further resulted in a discovery of immense interest in itself and of prime moment as evidence for the proposition now being discussed. It was the discovery of a MS., of apparently thirteenth-century date, bearing in certain marginal additions to its text in the shape of a running series of


¹ See note ch. 9, sec. 5, above. The *Parl.*, ll. 553-4, however, mentions only the crown and the nails.

rubrics an extraordinary body of relations to the Huchown poems especially *Morte Arthure*.

Systematically, the setting forth of the grounds of belief for the identification of manuscript U. 7. 25 in the Hunterian Library will best begin with a reminder of the presence in the same library of the manuscript T. 4. 1, which disclosed such singular resemblances—(1) between its text of the *De Preliis*, and the alliterative translation *The Wars of Alexander*, and (2) between its text of Guido de Columpna, and the alliterative translation *The Destruction of Troy*, with (3) the appositeness of the presence of Maundeville's *Itinerarium* in the manuscript, as compared with the presence of a passage from that work interjected into the *Alexander* poem. Also is to be remembered the presence in the same library, which once was the small private collection of MSS. of Dr. William Hunter, of the sole extant copy of the alliterative *Troy* poem just referred to. The combination induced the thought that a careful scrutiny of other manuscripts in the same collection might result in the discovery of other books which once had formed part of the great alliterative poet's collection, which once perchance he loved to see stand, like Chaucer's, 'at his beddes head.' By the use of Dr. John Young's manuscript notes for his MSS. Catalogue, and by his kindly furtherance personally of the quest, my search was much facilitated. One day a pair of eager eyes fell on the fateful words, *Hic Rex Arthurus litteras Lucij Imperatoris recepit*, added at the top of the page in a small and defective copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, the MS. U. 7. 25 in question. The text itself on that page styled Lucius only 'Procurator': the rubricator, like Huchown, heightened the dignity: the Latin rubricator wrote 'Imperator'; the poet 'Emperour.' With this point the examination of the MS. began.

This parchment book, about seven inches long by five broad, bound in wooden covers, and having its text in a hand of the thirteenth century, is rubricated more or less throughout in a hand a century later and sharply distinguishable. These rubrications are at the beginning numerous, in black ink, in a small, neat hand, and occupy the sides. About the 38th folio a change is made; there are far fewer rubrications, and now, instead of occupying the side margins, they are, with a very few exceptions on to the end,

confined to the top and occasionally to the bottom of the pages. Unfortunately perhaps for the definite solution of yet other problems of early poetry, a large and important section of the MS. is now lacking—a hiatus which deprives us of the part of Geoffrey containing Merlin's prophecies. Generally the rubrications are simple breviatees of the purport of passages in Geoffrey which interested the rubricator. Sometimes this is emphasised by a *Nota* or a peculiar mark on the margin, twice by a finger pointing, twice by the words *Nota bene*. How piquant these are! We are able to satisfy ourselves that the same things particularly interested the alliterative poet, that *Nota bene* reflects itself at least sometimes in his poems, that other peculiar marks of emphasis also are similarly reflected, and that, while the one *Nota bene* touches a passage of Geoffrey found, strangely enough, in *Titus and Vespasian*, the other reveals the plot of a poem, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, which years ago the editor of the *Parlement of the Thre Ages* printed as the work of the same author as the *Parlement*. And while the one marginal index finger pointed with its fruitful *Nota bene* to the tale of Brennius and Belinus as the source of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, while at the same time it emphasised a peaceful reunion of a king of Scotland with his brother, a king of England (strangely suggestive of the historical reconciliation of David II. with his brother-in-law, Edward III.), the other marginal index finger (fo. 28) pointed, as here shewn, to some hidden

ad insequēd testmāti cūphū pūmāti didicerat enī lin-
guā eorū & mores quā int̄ britānīcos oblīde tūmē nutritū
fuerat. sēp̄ accēpit ille iuxta regē pūmāti aditūp i
uentū: ip̄m nichil tale uicēntē uicēntē suffocauit. 

consequence,—perhaps for the poet's own personal history,—of the story of a man who had learned the language and the manners of another people through his having been reared among their hostages. *Didicerat enim linguam eorum et mores quia inter Britannicos obsides Rome nutritus fuerat*. What did it mean? Was it that Huchown's English style and breadth of English sympathy, his choice of Arthurian themes, which not once but several times touched the Order of the Garter and the Table Round of Edward III., were the result of some sojourn among Scottish hostages in London

during the Wars of Independence? So would come a fresh and surprising solvent to the crux of Huchown's problem, which is that of explaining how a poet with themes so devoid of Scottish passion, and so full of a British fervour which might almost be mistaken for English, could have written in a dialect so rich in forms which, if not largely English, are not Scottish, and yet withal could, without inexplicable irony, have had his contemporary biography written only in Scottish chronicle, and written, too, with admiring sympathy for the author and the man.

Once I had occasion to declare that, rightly apprehended, a *Commonplace Book*, although entirely of quotations, was an intellectual self-revelation of peculiar interest, and was, in spite of itself, autobiographical. Here is an analagous case, out of which rises the question, What do these marginal jottings tell of the rubricator's mind? They tell much: tell (1) of his reverent attitude, (2) of his fondness for moral truths, (3) of his admiration for London, (4) of his eye for courtly ceremonial, (5) of his zest for the chase and for falconry, (6) of his attention to the history of law, (7) of the attraction which religious annals had for him, (8) of his close study of the tribute question, which has so large a place in the scheme of *Morte Arthure*, (9) of his special and peculiar interest in the six chapters of Geoffrey which form the bulk of *Morte Arthure*, (10) of that looseness about proper names, which more than one of the editors of his poems have set down as characteristic of the poet, and (11) of his dramatic sense of the power in such stories as those of Lear and Cordelia, or Brennius and Belinus, or of such episodes as a council of war at midnight under the stars, or as the blazing dragon in Uther Pendragon's time. These marks on the margin are no common gloss; they are fragments of the alliterative poems in the making, still unfashioned, it is true, but already taking shape in the active imagination of genius in the fourteenth century.

Whoever will go through the representative body of extracts from these marginals which are to be quoted in a subsequent chapter may gauge for himself the degree of trust assignable to these inferences. Beginning with the fly-leaf, we have the very remarkable jotting of six items copied from the original red ink rubrics of Geoffrey's text—items which are the kernel of *Morte Arthure*. A few points of correspondence between that poem and the rubricator's

markings may here be presented. The text names 'Petreius Cotta,' the rubricator calls him 'Petreius Senator,' Huchown calls him 'the Senatour Peter.' The text has 'Guerinus,' the rubricator 'Gerinus,' Huchown 'Geryn.' The text has always 'Modredus,' the rubricator has always 'Mordredus,' Huchown oftenest has 'Mordred.' The text never names the Saracens, the rubricator couples '*Pictis et aliis Sarracenis*,' Huchown puts the 'Sarazenes' in one line and their allies the 'Peyghtes' in the next line but two. 'Caius Quintilianus' of the printed Geoffrey is 'Gaius Quintilianus' in this manuscript text, the rubricator drops the Quintilian and calls him merely 'Gaius,' Huchown too dubs him only 'Syr Gayous.' A date, 4482, not in the printed Geoffrey at all, appears in this MS. text, and the date 'five hundred years less eighteen' will strangely emerge in another alliterative poem as we proceed—a poem¹ which contains one of the best told stories of the Middle Ages, and without exception the noblest tribute to the essential 'priesthood' of law which the early literature of Britain can boast. If these proofs do not serve to convince the alliterative critics, English and Scottish, French and German, that this Hunterian MS. was veritably Huchown's, and Huchown's work a mighty unity, it will be for the wisest of them to attempt the feat of accounting for the miracles of coincidence which the preceding statement only illustrates and does not exhaust—miracles of coincidence, be it said also, which so splendidly confirm the argument, itself of immense power, deduced from internal evidences of unity and correlation.

12. CLUES TO 'TITUS' AND 'WYNNERE AND WASTOURE.'

(1) *The Dragon in 'Titus.'*

Two chief illustrations in detail will suffice to demonstrate the force of the confirmatory argument from the MS. In a previous chapter attention was called to the singular consonance between the *Titus* poem and *Morte Arthure* in the insistence upon the significance of the dragon banner. It was then suggested that the idea came from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

¹ See ch. 14 for notice of *Erkenwald*.

With the Hunterian MS. before us the statement admits of absolute definition. On fo. 49 (*Geoffrey*, viii., 14, 15) appear the marginal additions,


'Nota bene: stella apparuit.
De significacione syderis.'¹

The passage thus marked tells of a ball of fire in the likeness of a dragon (*globus igneus in similitudinem draconis*), from the mouth of which proceeded two *radii*, one pointing to France, the other to Ireland, the significance of which, as expounded by Merlin, lay in the future dominion by Uther Pendragon's son over the realms so indicated.

Turning to the *Titus* we find that Vespasian's banner is a gaping dragon, having a falchion under his feet, with four keen blades directed to the four points of the world, which, in turn, is denoted by the ball of burning gold on which the dragon stood in sign—'in forbesyn to the folk'—of conquest of all the world. Whatever be thought of the significance of the dragon, the significance of the rubricator's *Nota bene* is certainly exceeding plain.

(2) *The plot of 'Wynneere and Wastoure.'*

There was, however, as already observed, another *Nota bene* among the rubrications. Let us look at it also, as the second detailed illustration of the constructive value of these marginal marks as of a truth Huchown's own comment on himself. Opposite the tale of the dispute and impending battle between Brennius—king from Humber to Caithness—and Belinus—king south of the Humber—occurs a note of the very highest historical and literary consequence. Its theme is the reconciliation of the two contending monarchs by the dramatic interposition of their mother, Convenna, to whom the rubricator by a verbal slip, not unusual with him, refers as Venna—a mistake occasioned by the word being divided in the MS. text, 'Con-' at the end of one line and 'venna' at the beginning of the next.

Hic Venna mater eorum concordiam inter eos fecit et valde miraculose.
Nota bene. 

¹ The second note (De significacione syderis) strikes me as written in a different and later hand, but see facsimile.

Scottish readers can hardly fail to remember that Sir Hew of Eglintoun was a party to the arrangement of peace, and of a very friendly understanding between Edward III. and David II. in 1359. If David II. was rather a failure as Brennius, at any rate the Belinus of the part, Edward III. was his brother by marriage. There is more than mere curiosity in this point, for an important element in the final peace footing of 1363 and 1364 seems to be singularly echoed in a couple of lines¹ of *Morte Arthure*. Letting that pass, however, we shall find the rubricator's *Nota bene* guiding us with exceeding directness to the solution of another alliterative problem—the authorship of *Wynnere and Wastoure*. The learned editor of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* had good grounds for his opinion that the unity of authorship of that poem and of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, which he printed in the same Roxburghe Club volume, was 'well nigh indisputable.' Seven reasons were assigned by Mr. Gollancz for this conclusion, especially the occurrence of whole lines common to both poems, of passages strongly reminiscent of the same poetical conceptions, of certain negligences of historical detail, and of a remarkable sameness of style evincing high pictorial power. Mr. Gollancz did not know that the *Parlement* had grown out of the *Troy* poem, nor was he

¹ After a quarrel with Cador, Arthur warmly apologises, and, commending Cador as one of the doughtiest that was ever dubbed, he says (*Morte*, 1943-4):

'Thare es none ischewe of us on this erthe sprongen;
Thou arte apparant to be ayere are (*read or*) one of thi childyre.'

There is here either a most remarkable coincidence or else there is a direct allusion—as I believe—to the negotiations of 1363 and 1364. On 27th Nov., 1363, it was agreed that, failing heirs male of the body of David II., the King of England should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland (*Acts Parl., Scotland*, i., 493). In 1364, this proposal having been rejected by the Scottish Parliament, a second agreement was substituted, under which, failing heirs male of the body of David II., the kingdom should pass to a son of the king of England other than the heir-apparent (*Acts Parl., Scot.*, i., 495). In fact, David II. had no issue; under the first agreement, so far as David II. and his Privy Council had power, Edward III. was David's heir-apparent, under the second the heir was one of Edward's children—Lionel. As to this curious intrigue and Sir Hew of Eglintoun's connection with it, see my paper, *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* above referred to, also some previous comments above, end of ch. 9.

aware that Wastoure and Wynnere, as personifications, were the literary heirs of Brennius and Belinus.

In 'Geoffrey of Monmouth.'

The armies of Brennius and Belinus are about to join battle (iii. 7)

when their mother, Convenna, intervenes.

She reminds them that she had suckled both.

Thus a concord is effected.

They cross the sea to make war on France together (iii. 8) and afterwards conquer Rome (iii. 9).

In 'Wynnere and Wastoure.'

The hawberked and helmed armies of Wynnere and Wastoure are in schiltrums on either holt with only a lawn betwixt them, on the point of battle (ll. 50-54)

when 'the king of this kythe' (Edward III.) wearing the garter bids them stop (ll. 69-107), sending the message by a young baron (the Black Prince), who wears three feathers (l. 117).

The two commanders obey and mention to the royal messenger that they know well that the king 'clothes us both and has us fostered and fed these five and twenty winters' (ll. 197-207)

The king receives them by the hand 'as hinds of our house both' (ll. 208-212)

After a long debate between the two (after the medieval pattern of Wine against Water) the king bids Wynnere 'wend over the wale stream' by Paris to the Pope (ll. 460-1), and wait a summons to arms and knighthood when the king goes to war at Paris.

Wastoure is sent to the east end of London, but the poem is incomplete, so that the probable final concord of Wynnere and Wastoure is not extant.

(3) *Wynnere and Wastoure: its sense and date.*

The poem contains the oldest known vernacular rendering of *Honi soit qui mal y pense*.

'And alle was it one sawe appon Ynglysse tonge
Hethyng have the hathell that any harme thynkes.'

Like Gawayne (which ends with this motto in French, *Hony soit qui mal pence*), like *Morte Arthure*, and like the *Awentyrs of Arthure*, this

piece is unquestionably of the Garter or Round Table group. It helps to make clearer why Sir Hew of Eglintoun's visits to England between 1358 and 1369 were so frequently about the time of special tournaments and chivalric functions¹ at the court of Edward III., who in *Wynner and Wastoure*, just as in *Morte Arthure*, shines as a stately figure of chivalry. That it connects English and Scottish history is therefore obvious, and the fact that it rises out of the story of Brennius, a northern king, is in admirable keeping with its quotations from the prophecies of no less a Scottish personage² than Thomas of Erceldoune.

¹Safe conducts on the 11th of May, 1358 (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 823^a), 26th April, 1363 (*Ibid.*, i., 872), 5th December, 1363 (*Ibid.*, i., 876), and 20th May, 1365 (*Ibid.*, 893^b), may be adduced as instances. See the biographical calendar under these dates in my paper, *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, above mentioned.

² *Thomas's Prophecies.*

Wynner and Wastoure.

La countesse de Donbardemanda a Thomas
de Essedoun quant la guere d'Escoce pre-
ndreit fyn e yl la repoundyt e dyt :

When hares kendles o the herston
When Wyt and Wille werres togedere
When laddes weddeth lovedis

For nowe all es Witt and Wyles that we
with delyn
Wyse wordes and slee and icheon wryeth
othere (ll. 5-6)
And hares appon herthestones schall hurele
in hire fourme
And eke boyes of blode with boste and
with pryde
Schall wedde ladyes in londe and lede hi
at wille
Thene dredfulle domesdaye it drawethe
neghe afir (ll. 13-16)

Thomas's prophecies are quoted by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in the introduction (p. xviii.) to his *Thomas of Erceldoune*. See also Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, in introduction to ballad of *Thomas the Rhymer*; also Laing's *Early Pop. Scot. Poetry*, 1895, i., 88; and cf. the variant in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, i., 30.

The antithetical use of 'ladde' as above appears several times in *Wynner and Wastoure* (ll. 375, 378, 388), e.g. 'Woldest thou hafe lordis to lyfe as laddes on fote.' Compare the disparaging use of 'ladde' in *Morte Arthure*, 3535, 4094.

England and Scotland are thus alike contributory to this little poem, and Wales is doubly so, for besides the initial service of Geoffrey in furnishing the plot, there is a further debt to Walter Map in furnishing the manner of debate between Wynnere (or Thrift) and Wastoure (or Extravagance)—a debt which the Hunterian MS. again compels us to recognise. A few leaves further on than the *Nota bene* of the Venna passage there begins, at the bottom of fo. 3, and is continued at the bottom of ff. 30^b-38, a copy¹ of the famous *Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum*. The alternate stanzas have *Vinum* and *Aqua* set against them respectively, and the personified Waste and Thrift in the fourteenth-century English poem, although bodied forth with an actuality and lifelike vigour undreamt of in the pale abstractions of the twelfth-century Latin dialogue, yet may owe something of their art to the latter, the more ancient 'flyting' of Wine against Water. The poet achieved a great success in his personifications. Youth, Middle Elde, and Elde in the *Parlement* are not more superb examples of this than are Wastoure and Wynnere. The German doctor who damned the translator of the *Troy* with the faint praise of being a clever versifier declared that he was no poet. 'Ein dichter war er nicht.'² We have now a thousand new reasons to think that the translator was not only a poet, but a poet indeed. The allegory of the *Parlement* and the allegory of *Wynnere and Wastoure* rank among the few vivid concrete and poetic realisations of abstract portraiture achieved in English literature.

Perhaps the critics who may be of a different mind will be good enough to name a single superior example. And there is a point of view which is not to be passed over. This man, whether he was Sir Hew of Eglintoun or not, was international; if not directly connected with hostages he certainly held dear the peace and union of the North and South; an archetype to his creative effort was the reconciliation of a Scottish and an English

¹ There are a good many minor variants from the version given in Wright's *Poems of Walter Mapes*, p. 87, and in particular this rendering does not contain lines 99 to 146 and 151 to 154 of Wright's edition of the piece. The handwriting of this poem does not seem to be the same as the rubricator's, and that it was added after the rubrications is evident, for instance, from the relative position of the two on fo. 36.

² Zur *Destruction of Troy*, by Wilhelm Bock (Halle, 1883), p. 13.

king; he quoted Scottish prophetic utterances; his models and style, on the other hand, were English; much of his thought and sympathy was English too; of English law and legal history the note impressed itself equally on his copy of *Geoffrey* and on his own poems; *Morte Arthure* shews a buoyant picture of the kings of Scotland and of Wales as Arthur's most gallant allies; the sum of all is that in the body of early poetry claimed for Huchown we have a superb tribute to the solidarity of the literature of English speech,—a noble plea for the literary unity of both sides of Tweed. Whatever be the outcome of the discussions about his identity, so much at least appears to be the certain reading of his life.

Historical tests are usually the only safe basis for dating literary work. Few of the Huchown poems contain such historical evidences except in so far as the ascertainment of sources goes to establish a point of time. *Wynnerre and Wastoure* in this respect belongs to a category of its own, being of a relatively early period and clearly explicable by the side light of church history. This allegorical poem of narrative and 'flyting'—an impending combat ending in a litigation—was assigned to *circa* 1350 by Mr. Gollancz on grounds¹ palpably untenable, and crucially failing to explain a main feature of the action of the poem. Although the great scene of the armies gathered over against each other came from Belinus and Brennius these heroes of ancient Britain give no clue to the bannered pomp of the two hosts drawn from France, Lombardy, Spain, England, and Ireland ranged under banners of black and green and white, with

¹ Only three need be discussed: (1) that the reference to 'five and twenty winters' (l. 206) points to the 25th year of Edward III.; (2) that the mention of the Friars and the Pope (ll. 460-70) points to the Statute of Provisors in 1351; and (3) that Scharshill (l. 317) is referred to 'evidently as Chief of Exchequer,' and therefore *ante* 1350 when he became Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The answers are: (1) that the five and twenty winters at the most can mean no more than that the date was after 1351, the King's 25th year; (2) that there is no hint whatever of the Statute of Provisors or its theme; and (3) that a reference to a judge in connection with breach of the peace ('his pese to distourbe') cannot possibly indicate the baron of Exchequer, but points necessarily to some judicial episode later than 1350, but before 5th July, 1357, when he ceased *ad tempus* to be Chief Justice. (Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*.) Besides, the episode in question must have preceded the poem alluding to it, so that the latter may well date some months later than July, 1357.

heraldic insignia of bibles (each with *bullæ* appended) and judges' heads, galleys and boarheads and buckles not admitting ready interpretation in detail. The poet leaves no doubt, however, that the first banner is Papal, the second that of certain Judges, and other four those of the Four Orders of the Friars—the Franciscans, Dominicans, Austins, and Carmelites—in reference to whom hints are thrown out about their wealth, their confessional privileges, and their commerce. True to himself, the poet thought the fairest banner that of the Augustine Order, for they were special, 'Our Lady to serve.'

When the enigma of this threatened conflict of European armies under opposing banners (l. 52) is confronted with '*circa* 1350' as the date of the poem, the impending battle is unintelligible as a historical allusion. Another date makes the meaning at once a matter of the simplest demonstration. Apply '*circa* 1358,' and the problem is solved. The battle just about to begin is partly the '*magna controversia*,' the 'gret strif' between Archbishop Fitzralf of Armagh, the renowned 'Armachanus,' primate of Ireland, with the secular clergy of England at his back, against the Four Mendicant Orders—the world-moving plea before the Pope and the Consistorial Court at Avignon which started in 1356, and in which the Irish primate made his 'most solemn proposition' before Pope Innocent VI. on 8th November, 1357, in reply to the papal summons issued the year before. The proposition, duly noted in English and Scottish chronicle,¹ assailed the Friars for many shortcomings, including extravagance and abuse of confessional rights. This controversy (which endured until close on the archbishop's death in 1360) supplies, when taken along with Brennius and Belinus, the assured suggestion of the embattled banners of the Friars and the Pope in the poem. Our poet thus made pictorial use of the mighty question of the Friars which very soon in Wycliffe's hands was to be pressed to more practical issues.² Unlike William of Langland,

¹ Murimuth, Eng. Hist. Soc., 191, 193. Further accounts are given in Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 218; Bower's *Scotichronicon*, ii., 360; Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2625 Walsingham, sub anno 1358; Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, ed. 1840, livre xcvi., ch. 36; Wolfius's *Lectio Memorable*, ed. 1600, i., 642; Barnes's *Edward III.*, year 1358.

² Wycliffe's famous treatises, the *Triologus* and that 'Against the Orders of the Friars,' were sequels to the onslaught by 'Armachanus.'

our poet carefully refrains from personal entry into the fray, and strikes no direct stroke against the Friars whom Langland was so scathingly to denounce. Besides, the suspended fray had suggestion more direct still.

For this poem a date between 1356 and 1360 was needed—a date to fit the controversy, a date before 1360, because an allusion to the war 'at the proude pales of Paris the riche' (ll. 497-9) as still in progress must precede the peace of Bretigny in 1360, a date not much later than 1357 because of its allusion to Scharshill, evidently as Chief Justice. History makes perfectly clear why the poet set Pope, judges, friars, and Scharshill in the field all at one time. The contemporary annalists were doing the same thing, recording under the year 1358 both the 'gret strif' itself and Scharshill's share in another disturbance of that eventful period. Walsingham, Knyghton, and Capgrave, as well as the Anglo-Scottish *Scalacronica* all tell of this further embroilment, which accounts for the hostile banners of pope and judges, with the mention of Scharshill in the poem. The men of Bishop Lyle of Ely, who was a Dominican friar, burnt a manor of Lady Blanche of Wake, who complained to the king.¹ She charged against the bishop that her houses had been burnt by his dependants "encontre la Pees et la Lei de la terre," and one of her servants murdered. Justices were assigned to hear the cause, and the bishop, being found guilty, was delivered over to his episcopal brethren to be kept in custody, and his 'temporalities' were seized,² he being 'atteint de transgression incontre le peace.' On this the Pope was appealed to. He espoused the bishop's cause, expostulated³ with the king, and excommunicated the justices, one of whom, we learn from Knyghton, was Scharshill. Serious disturbances ensued from this conflict of legal and ecclesiastical authority, and extremes involved included the violent exhumation of the excommunicated dead. 'Mech manslauth felle in this matere' says Capgrave.⁴ King Edward's inter-

¹ Rotuli Parliamentorum, ii. 267.

² Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2620; *Year Books* (Maynard, 1679) for Trinity term 29 Edw. III., p. 41. The *Scalacronica*, p. 177, is interestingly technical in its account of the matter.

³ See bull of 1 Aug., 1358, in Rymer's *Foedera*.

⁴ Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 218.

vention was therefore equally indignant and energetic. It needs no telling how completely these episodes annotate Wastoure's words in the poem:

And thies beryns one the bynches with howes [hoods] one loft
 That bene knowen and kyddle for clerkes of the beste
 As gude als Arestotle or Austyn the wyse
 That alle schient were those schalkes and Scharshall it wiste
 That saide I prikkede with powere his pese to distourbe. Ll. 314-18.

The trouble evidently was not appeased when the poem was written. Not until near the beginning of 1359¹ apparently, was the incident closed by the Pope's withdrawal of the judges' excommunication.²

Every finger points,³ therefore, to *circa* 1358. That the poet chose not to define more exactly the troops and banners of opposing Church and State, and left something to the imagination of his audience, was natural enough when the strifes of friars and bishop, judges and pope were the topic of the hour. The thing as a whole is clear; no reasonable criticism would exact a detailed historical application at the foot of every letter. *Wynnerre and Wastoure*, with its direct citation of the Garter motto (l. 68) is a Round Table poem easily referable to some chivalric celebration among the many of the years 1358 and 1359, of which the English annalists⁴ have a good deal to say. Sir Hew of Eglintoun was in London early in 1358. He was again there in the beginning of 1359. Perhaps like his master,

¹ *Knyghton*, 2620. The chronology here is, however, a little confusing.

² Was the excommunication the reason for the appointment in July, 1357, of Thomas de Seton as *Capitalis Justiciarius ad tempus loco Willelmi de Scharshull*? (Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*.) This seems very probable, and the words *ad tempus* suggest that Scharshill was only suspended in 1357, not removed. In 1368, when he died after reception as a friar minor, he is in *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii., 334, entitled *capitalis justiciarius*, but it can hardly be inferred that he had resumed that office.

³ See *Athenacum*, 3 Aug., 7 Sept. and 26 Oct. 1901, for the original discussion of this date. Mr. Gollancz's replies of 24 Aug. and 14 Sept. 1901, lend no support to his date '*circa* 1350,' words which in his last letter he seems to qualify as now meaning '*before* 1357.' The fact that not one but several chroniclers put the episode of the friars in the same year with the incident of Scharshill, and that year 1358, appears conclusive of the historical soundness of my favour for *circa* 1357-8, or as I now prefer to say more definitely, *circa* 1358. On the banners, see further ch. 15, sec. 3, and end of ch. 17.

⁴ *Knyghton* in *Decem Scriptores*, 2617-8; Murimuth, 191. *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii., 227; *Brut*, 33 Edw. III.

David II., on whom he was in personal attendance on the latter of these occasions, he may have made his quarters, where David II. was, with the Friars Preachers,¹ and so have been at the very heart of the affair when courtly and chivalric society was watching, not without amusement, the front of battle lower in the great debate.

13. HUCHOWN'S RUBRICATIONS OF 'GEOFFREY.'

For this chapter the rubricator of the Hunterian 'Geoffrey of Monmouth' already described, the manuscript U. 7. 25, shall speak for himself of his cordial relationship with Huchown and his poems—shall shew his bonds of association with *Gawayne*, with the *Troy*, with the *Titus*, with *Morte Arthure*, with *Wynnere and Wastoure*, and with the moving story of Saint Erkenwald and the dead judge who lay so long uncorrupted in the foundations of St Paul's. From the beginning of the MS. to folio 55b only selections are given; from folio 55b to folio 81b, where the original MS. now ends, the rubrications are given complete. They are all in black ink, thus contrasting with the original rubrics, which are incorporated in the text and are in red.

The series of black ink rubrications starts as a crumpled fly-leaf, with a note of six heads, all concerning King Arthur.

Verba Arthuri ad suos.

Responsio Hoeli.

De responsione Anguseli regis Albanie.

De congregacione regis Arthuri.

De edicto Lucij Hiberij.

De Itinere Arthuri contra Romanos.

[See facsimile.]

This jotting is in black ink and is all that is written on the fly-leaf of parchment forming the first—an extra—leaf of the MS. The above six items have been taken by the black ink rubricator from the original

¹On 11th May, 1358, Sir Hew had safe conduct to Westminster. *Rot. Scot.*, i., 823. In the winter of 1358, David II. was staying with the Friars Preachers in London. Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2619. On 21st Feb., 1359, the king's seal and that of Sir Hew, were both appended to a document at the Friars Preachers, London. Bain's *Calendar*, iv., 27.

series of rubrics in red ink forming part of the original text of ff. 62*b*, 63, 63*b*, and 64 of the MS., or in the printed Geoffrey, ix. 16, 17, 18, 20, x. 1, 2. They, of course, constitute the mainspring of *Morte Arthure*, of which it is perhaps not too much to say this jotting was a preliminary. They are on a leaf by themselves. Those that follow are the black ink marginal rubrications of the folios mentioned in connection with each.

fo. 7. (Galf. i. 12).¹ Hic columpnas Hercules [*Brutus et socii*] petierunt.

7*b*. Hic Corineus nemora petit causa venandi ubi magnum fecit conflictum.

9*b*. (i. 15). Hic naves ingreditur Brutus.

10*b*. (i. 17). De civitate Londoniensi.

Hic Brutus civitatem construxit et illam Trojam novam vocavit que postea Trinovantum dicta fuit.

(ii. 1). Hic Brutus Lond. sepelitur. [See *Erkenwald*, in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue folge, Heilbronn, 1881, p. 266, line 25.]

12. (ii. 7). Hic primus [*Ebraucus*] post Brutum classem in Gallias duxit.

12*b*. (ii. 8). Rex Ebraucus xx. filios genuit quorum primogenitus Brutus Viride scutum vocatus est.

13-13*b*. Opposite the story of King Lear and his daughters two grotesque face lines are drawn on the margin—not part of the original scribe's work.

15*b*. (ii. 17). Hic Dunvallas rex hostes suos caute devicit.

15*b*. Hic leges primo in Anglia celebrantur inter Britones.

De fugitivis.

15*b*.² Hic rex est mortuus cui Bellinus et Brennius succederunt et regnum inter se diviserunt.

¹ Fo. 7 is the folio of the MS. Galf. i. 12, is book i. chapter 12, of the printed Geoffrey, *Galfridi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, ed. Giles. 1844.

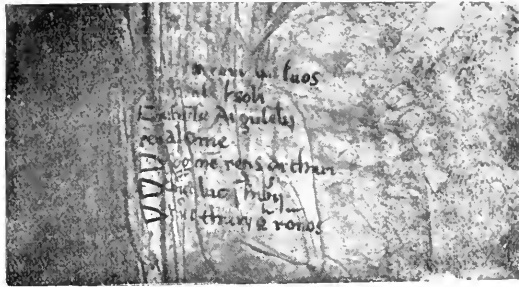
² On fo. 14*b*, at the end of the passage, which in the printed Geoffrey is lib. ii., cap. 15, there is in this MS. text (not the rubricator's work, but the text itself) an important variant in the shape of a note of date, not in the print. Just one chapter before the reign of Dunwallo mention is made of the date of the building of Rome—*Anno ab origine mundi, iiii cccc lxxvii*. As bearing on an interesting point of poetical chronology, it is necessary to quote here two other passages of the original MS. text not in the printed Geoffrey. On ff. 1*b*-2, at the end of what in the printed book is lib. i., cap. 2, the following stands part of the text:

Anno ante Incarnacionem domini m c lviij et ante condicionem Rome ccc lxxxvi et ab origine mundi iij cccc xlix annis peractis Eneas cum Ascanio filio diffugiens Italiam navigio adivit.

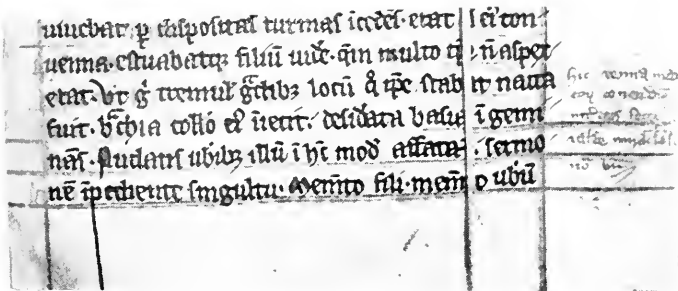
Similarly as part of the text on fo. 19, at end of lib. iij., cap. 9, of the printed book it is written to record the date of the capture of Rome by Brennius and Belinus:

Anno a condicione sua ccc lvi et ante Incarnacionem Domini ccc lx

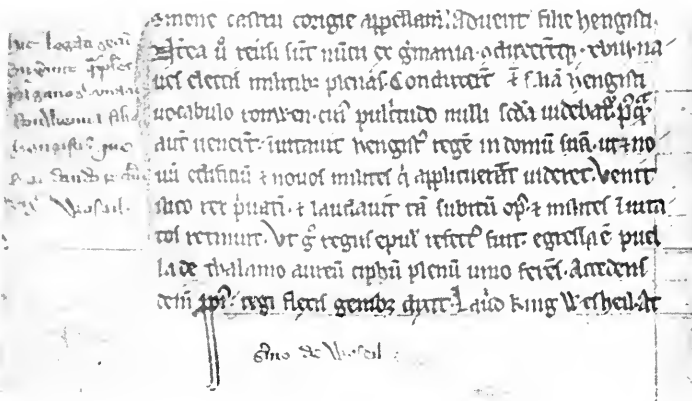
These inconsistent equations may enable the chronographic reader to achieve the marvel of reconciling them and transmute into terms of the era B.C. the year of the world 4482, to which poetic importances attaches.



CRUMPLED FLY-LEAF.





Nota bene ON 'VENNA,' fo. 17.



Woseit NOTE, fo. 44b.

[These facsimiles made from photographs taken by Mr. S. England, Photographic Department Glasgow University, are reduced by one-tenth from the original.]

- 16*b*. (iii. 3). Hic applicuit Brennius in Albaniam.
- 16 (16). (iii. 5.) Hic Bellinus leges instituit et confirmavit. [The story of Dunwallo is the key to the poem of *Erkenwald*. Compare lines 25, 207, 208-13, 216, 227, 230 (Dunwallo reigned 40 years), 228 (a temple was built for Dunwallo's laws). Compare rubricator's notes quoted above with these lines; also compare some further references appended to other rubrics, and see next chapter.]
- 16 (16*b*). (iii. 6). De fortuna et probitate Brennii fratris Regis Bellini.
17. (iii. 7). Hic iterato Brennius in Britanniam applicuit congressum habiturus cum Bellino Rege fratre suo.
Hic Venna mater eorum concordiam inter eos fecit et valde miraculose. Nota bene  [See facsimile.]
- [This note of reference to the story of Brennius and Belinus supplies the plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure*.]
- 17*b*. Hic facti sunt amici Bellinus et Brennius.
- (iii. 8). Hic Bellinus omnes francorum regulos devicerunt.
- 18*b*. (iii. 9). Hic obsides Rome civitatis ante portas ejus patibulo affixerunt. [*Morte*, 3589.]
19. (iii. 10). Hic Bellinus ex hac vita migravit. [See note at end of the *Erkenwald* section of next chapter.]
22. (iii. 20). Ludgate.
- 22*b*. De nobilitate et probitate Regis CASSIBELLAUNUS. [*Sic*. The name is written large by the rubricator. See *Parlement*, 315.]
23. (iv. 3). Hic Thamesis Julius applicuit.
Hic adest Cassibelluanus. [*Sic*.]
- 25*b*. (iv. 8). De epistola Androgei ad Julianum missa. [Julianum for Julium.]
26. (iv. 9). De xxx^{ta} obsidibus missis ad Julianum per Androgeum.
27. Hic tractatur de pace et concordia inter Julium et Cassibell.
- 27*b*. (iv. 10). Hic primo tributum de Britannia dabatur Julio Imperatori.
De concordia facta inter Julianum et Cassibell. et de vectigale reddito.
28. (iv. 13). Hic Hamo princeps milicie Claudii usus est dolo.
A finger is drawn opposite the sentence in the text: Didicerat enim linguam eorum et mores quia inter Britannicos obside Rome nutritus fuerat. 
[See cut, ch. 11. Note that this is the third rubric indicating special interest in hostages.]
30. (iv. 17). Sermo de Scotia.
- 30*b*. (iv. 19). Hic templa deorum diluuntur et evacuata. [*Erkenwald*, 15, 16.]
- 30*b*. Hic constituuntur tres Metropolitani in Anglia. [This explains the references to Triapolitane in *Erkenwald*, 31, 36. Lucius did this according to Geoffrey. London, York, and Caerleon were the three Triapolitanes.]¹
- 32*b*. (v. 5). Tempore Asclipiodoti persecucio Diocliciani Imperatoris in Christianos in regno Britannie.
33. De passione Sancti Albani et aliorum martirum in Britannia.

¹ At the bottom of ff. 30*b*-38 is, in a changed hand, the copy of the *Dialogus* of Wine and Water mentioned above ch. 12, sec. 3.

- 33^b. (v. 6). Hic Constantinus ex Helena uxore sua filium generavit quem Constantinum vocavit.
34. (v. 8). Constantinus Rex Britannie monarchiam Rome et totius mundi optinuit.
[*Morte Arthure*, 282-3.]
39. (vi. 2). Hic Romana potestas totam Britanniam de atroci oppressione suorum inimicorum liberavit.
- Nota : semper fuit Albania spelunca proditorum. [Note *Morte Arthure*, 32.]
- 40^b. (vi. 4). Hic Guetelinus London. metropolitanus in minorem Britanniam hoc est
Nota quod ffranciam transfretavit postulans Aldronci Regis ibidem subsidium. [*Morte*
ffrancia minor *Arthure* never mentions Aimorica, preferring 'Bretayne the lesse.' See
Britannia vo- lines 36, 304.]
catur.
42. (vi. 7). Hic proditor ille Vortigernus dolose pro Pictis et aliis Saracenis misit ut
terram Britannie occuparent. [No 'Saracens' in Geoffrey; *Morte Arthure*, 3530,
3533, associates Picts and Saracens.]
- 43^b. (vi. 10). In isto capitulo tractatur de Hengisto et Horso : adventus Barbarorum qui
diem Mercurium Woden lingua eorum vocabant quem lingua nostra Wodenesdai
nominamus. [*Sic*. Heathenism of Hengist's days noted in *Erkenwald*, 7.]
- 44^b. (vi. 12). Hic legati secum duxerunt quantoplures paganos unacum Rouwenna filia
Hengisti que Regi [Vortegirno] dando poculum dixit Wosail.
Sermo de Woseil. [Belshazzar is made to use this word with the same technical
propriety, *Cleanness*, 1508.]¹ [See *facsimile*.]
- fo. 49. (viii. 14). Hic Merlinus de sidere mirabili vaticinavit apparente Wyntoniam.
Nota bene : stella apparuit.
- (viii. 15). De significatione syderis. [This fully explains the dragon passage in *Titus*,
387-403, and is a clue to *Morte Arthure*, 2057, etc.] [See *facsimile*.]
50. (viii. 18). Triquetra-like mark opposite sentence, At ubi Arctos temonem vertere
cepit precepit Uther consules suos atque principes ad se vocari ut consilio eorum
tractaret. [This exactly parallels the councils of war by night in *Troy* and *Titus*.
Ch. 8, sec. 2, and ch. 12, sec. 1, above.] [See *facsimile*.]
- 53^b. (viii. 23). Triquetra-like mark opposite last two sentences of viii. 23, Malo tamen
semimortuos . . . vivere.
- 55^b. (ix. 3). De Arthuro Rege Britonum.

¹ Fo. 46^b. has at the bottom in the same hand as added the *Dialogus* on ff. 30b-38 the lines :—

Quid de mundo senciam nolo declarare,
Et de illis qui sciunt mundum titillare.
Siquis mundi vicia querit indagare
Infinitum numerum tedet numerare.
Sed proclamat Salomon audiant mundani
Omnia sunt vanitas forma sub inani
Qui terrenis inhiant nonne sunt insani :
(Qui sane considerant immo sunt hii vani.

mora illabente uenire p poros corporis tuas ostendit: mors
 loquor: a nani pte olucit: hinc nemo: pter ille it unu
 + anu elapsi in curia nullo oparunt: H oia guntionis agent:
 aparuit stella mite magnitudis + claritatis uno radio occu
 pi. ad radiu u erat globi igneus: i similitudine draconis pte
 sus: et ore ei pcedebat. h radii q unus longitudine sua n
 gallicana climata uidebat: extende: illi u uerba habuicam
 mare ugent: i. vii. minores radios eminebat: de significatio

iparente itaq: pto scit: pculi sit omi metu fides:
 + dominacione q mde inspiciebatur: videri t h regis hostile
 ceteri i kambeia pculi: n minime timore pculi: hie sapi
 entes adibat: ut q: pceder stella significaret: hie ceteri uir
 ut uocare milia: tia + ipe in ceteri uenat: ut gilio ipi
 rei ploy: ceteri: e: ut i ptenia duas animas: iustis: signi
 ficacione libit emulare: hie ille in fletu crispel reuocato
 spu exclamauit + ait: Dampna irrecupabile o orbati po
 pulu britanie: o nobilissimi regis migratione defunct: ieli
 e: rex britonu auteli ambrosi: cui obitu obidim: n ds aqua
 hui subuectet: festina q: ore nobilissime uthet festina + offu
 tu cu hostib: no differat: victoria t i manu ceteri: t rex ceteri m
 cius britannie: te + eni scilicet mde significat + igneus draco
 sub sede: a. ad aut q uis gallicana plagam porrigit: pte
 ore t filiu futurum + potentissimu: cui pte oia q: pteget
 habebit: Alit u radii significat filia: cui filii + nepotes regni
 britannie succedere habebit: bellu uthet: of ceteri magis
 t uthet in dubio tu ceteri an uerum pte hui: mde i
 hostes ut ceptat pteget: adueniat nate: pte mene
 uia: ita ut t medicatis dici restaret: Cui aduenit ei

de fig. 200
 h. 200

56. (ix. 4). Hic Arthurus cum paganis Saxonibus viriliter dimicavit.
De clipeo Arthuri. [Gawayne, 649; *Morte Arthure*, 3649.]
De gladio ejus nomine Caliburno. [*Morte Arthure*, 4230.] [See facsimile.]
- 56^b. De victoria Arthuri contra paganos.
57. (ix. 6). De stagno mirabili lx insulas continente ad quod pagani fugerunt.
- (ix. 7). De stagno Lumonoy.
- 57^b. (ix. 8). Hic Rex Arthurus ecclesias per paganos destructas renovavit et totum regnum suum Britannie in pace stabilivit.
58. (ix. 10). Hic Arthurus totam Hiberniam et omnes Reges Insulanos sibi subjugavit qui omnes vectigal ei dederunt. [*Morte Arthure*, 30, 31.]
- 58^b. (ix. 11). Hic Arthurus Northwegiam Daciamque sibi subjugavit.
[*Morte Arthure*, 44, 46.]
59. (ix. 11). Hic Rex Arthurus cum ffullone Rege ffrancie bellum duellum commisit.
[*Morte Arthure*, 3345, uses the nearly orthodox form 'Frolle.']
- 59^b. (ix. 12). Hic Rex Arthurus tocius Gallie partes in ix annis subjugavit tenuitque Parisius curiam suam legesque ibi statuit et confirmavit et in Britanniam reversus est.
- fo. 60. Hic Arthurus ad suum convivium omnes Reges principes et duces proceres et nobiles invitavit inferius nominatos. [*Morte Arthure*, 75.]
- 60^b. (ix. 13). Hic Arthurus in Regem Britannie et Gennora in Reginam coronantur.
[*Morte Arthure*, 84, has 'Gaynour.']
61. Hic magnum festum et laudes Deo in coronacione Arthuri et Regine celebrantur.
- 61^b. (ix. 15). Hic Rex Arthurus litteras Lucij Imperatoris recepit. [*Morte Arthure*, 86, also calls him 'Emperour': the Latin of Geoffrey has 'Procurator.'] [See facsimile.]
62. Hic Arthurus consilium habuit super sibi mandatis per Imperatorem.
[*Morte Arthure*, 243.]
- 62^b. (ix. 16). Hic Rex Arturus sanxivit tributum de Lucio Cesare sibi dari.
[*Morte Arthure*, 275.]
63. (ix. 17). Consilium Arthuri de Romanis quomodo eos subjugaret.
- 63^b. (ix. 18). Promissio facta Regi Arthuro per Reges principes duces comites barones sibi subditos de hominibus ad arma contra Imperatorem. Hic congregat exercitum suum.
[*Morte Arthure*, 288-394.]
- 63^b. (ix. 19). In exercitu regis Arthuri duo reges. [There are more than two kings in Geoffrey, but in *Morte Arthure*, 288, 320, as here, there are only two.]
Summa hominum armatorum c iij^{xx} iij millia et cc preter pedites in exercitu Arthuri.
64. (x. 1). Hic Lucius Imperator contra Arthurum Regem exercitum suum parat. Summa exercitus Imperatoris iij^{xx} millia. [*Morte Arthure*, 625.]
64. In exercitu Imperatoris sunt ix reges duo duces cum ceteris ducibus sibi subjugatis.
- 64^b. (x. 2). Hic Rex Arthurus sompnum vidit et de quodam gigante in Monte Michaeli rumores audivit. [*Morte Arthure*, 756-843.]
65. (x. 3). Hic gigas Helenam neptim ducis Hoeli suo fedo coitu peremit. Arthurus ut cum eo congredetur montem petiit. [*Morte Arthure*, 855.]
- 65^b. Hic Rex Arthurus cum gigante magnum habuit congressum et ipsum interfecit.
[*Morte Arthure*, 892-1160.]

66. (x. 4). Hic Rex Arthurus misit Imperatori ut a finibus Gallie recederet ubi coram Imperatore Walganus nepos Arturi Gaium nepotem Imperatoris peremit. [The rubricator here calls 'Gaius Quintilian' simply 'Gaius' (the printed Geoffrey calls him 'Caius Quintilianus'); similarly *Morte Arthure*, 1346-1385, knows him only as 'Syr Gayous.']
66. A peculiar mark is put opposite the sentence in Geoffrey (x. 4) about Gaius Quintilianus, saying that 'Britones magis jactantia atque minis habundare quam audacia et probitate valere.' [*Morte Arthure*, 1348, did not fail to use this passage.]
- 66*b*. Hic Boso de Vado Boum Gerinus Carnotensis et Walganus nepos Arturi cum Romanis ignorante Arthuro certamen habuere. [*Morte Arthure*, 1378-1531.]
67. De magno conflictu Romanorum et Britonum.
- 67*b*. Hic Petreus Senator captus est et regi presentatus et victoriam Britones optinuerunt. [The rubricator in naming Geoffrey's 'Petreius Cotta' drops the 'Cotta,' calling him 'Petreius Senator.' Similarly *Morte Arthure*, 1419, 1476, 1519, 1543, calls him only 'the Senatour Peter.']
68. (x. 5). Hic Romanos captivos Parisius Britones miserunt et in itinere magnum conflictum habuerunt et de Romanis victoriam. [*Morte Arthure*, 1617-1879.]
- 68*b*. (x. 6). De Lucio quomodo Lengriam civitatem cum exercitu suo ingredere disposuit hesitans cum Arthuro prelia committere. [*Morte Arthure*, 1957.]
69. (x. 7). De Arthuro quomodo disposuit se cum exercitu suo Imperatorem precedere ut cum eo conflictum habeat suos consolans et victoriam promisit. [*Morte Arthure*, 1973-2005.]
69. Arthurus rex habens sub se Reges terdenorum regnorum.
- 69*b*. (x. 8). Hic Lucius Imperator revocata audacia suos comortavit et exercitum suum disposuit contra Regem Arthurum. [*Morte Arthure*, 2020.]
70. Hic conflictum magnum inierunt. [*Morte Arthure*, 2058-2255.]
- 70*b*. (x. 9). De conflictu Romanorum et Britonum.
71. De ingenti conflictu inter Britones et Romanos.
- 71*b*. (x. 10). De bello Arthuri inter ipsum et Lucium Imperatorem. [*Morte Arthure*, 2240.]
72. (x. 11). De bello Arthuri inter ipsum et Lucium Imperatorem.
- 72*b*. (x. 12). Hic Arthurus victoriam potitus est et Lucius Imperator inter turmas peremptus est. [*Morte Arthure*, 2244-2255.]
- 72*b*. Opposite the sentence telling of the death of Lucius the word 'Amen' is marked in early pencilling.
73. (x. 13). De sepultura mortuorum in conflictu. Hic Arthurus precepit corpus Lucii Imperatoris ad Senatum deferre Romanorum dicens quod aliud tributum de Britannia dari non deberet. [*Morte Arthure*, 2290-2351.]
- 73*b*. (xi. 1). De bello inter Regem Arthurum et Mordredum nepotem suum proditorem. [*Morte Arthure*, 3713.]
74. (xi. 2). De bello Arthuri et Mordredi proditoris nepotis sui. [*Morte Arthure*, 4175.]
75. Hic corruit ille proditor Mordred cum multis aliis et Arthurus victoria adeptus est et letaliter vulneratus est. [*Morte Arthure*, 4251-4241.]

inrupta lanceis ferax habita. Occupauit britones totaq;
nocte infra saxa & coelesta gemitu. Atq; autem timore
int' cepit: p'cepit inthes. osuul suos atq; p'ncipal ad se uo
cati. ut osuul eoz p'pauer. Qu' in hostes utrupone facient.
Conuenient' cū cūca in p'sencia regis. iussim: dicit ho osu

COUNCIL OF WAR BY NIGHT, TRIQUETRA MARK, fo. 50.

Die Achtung d. Wissenschaften, welche es nicht

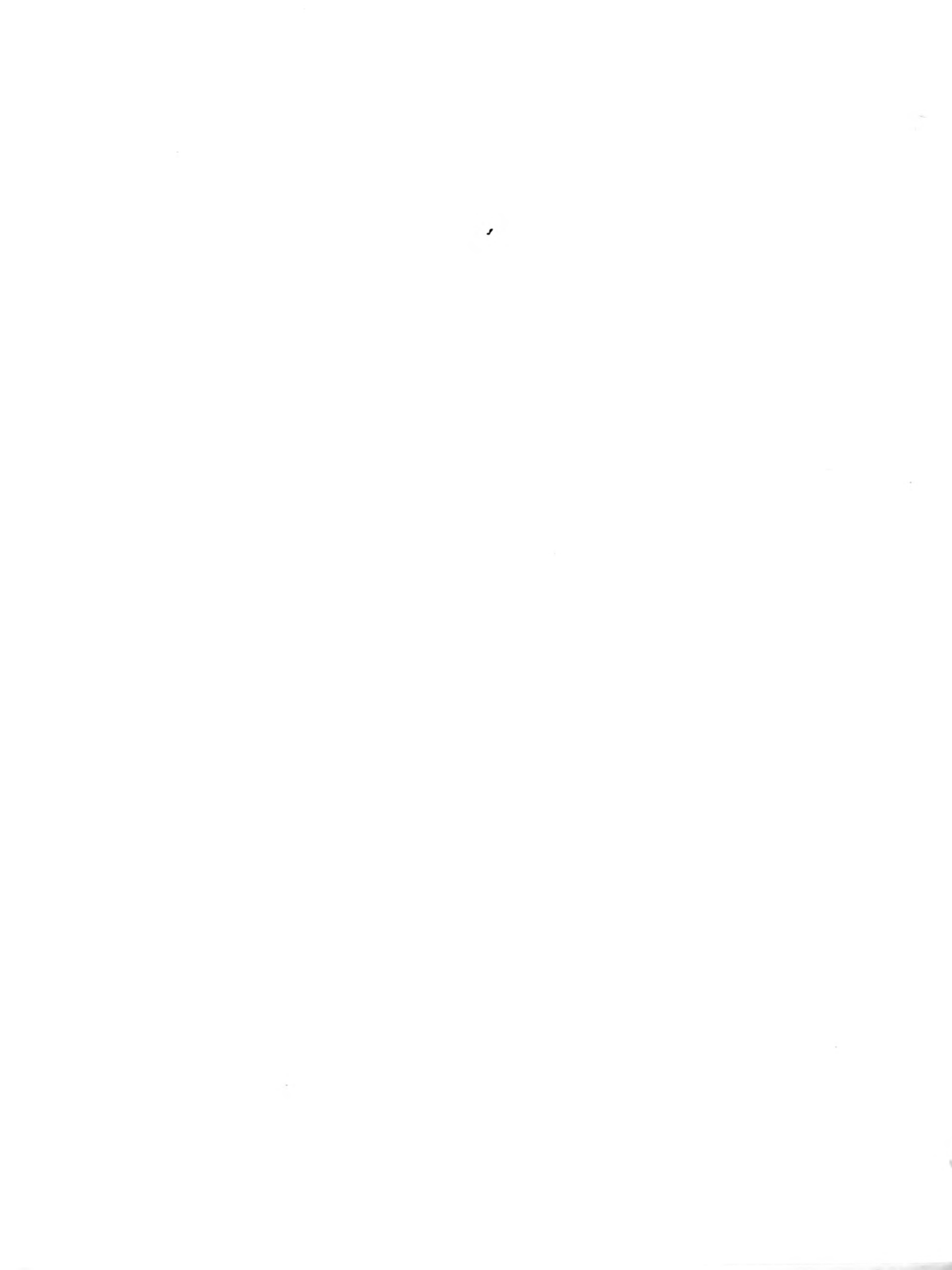
cong hilarati festinauit hie armati se i pcpal ci parere.
Ipe u arthur locita tanto rege digna mont aurea galica
simile draconis i scripta capiti adaptati humi de sui de
peu uocablo pndixen i q imago sci marie ex gentili in
pica ipam in memoria ipi scriptum uenuebat dicitur
E calidurno gladio opamo i milia anathonis fabrica
co lancea coram sua tectat q noie non uocabat h erat
adua latat cladio alu den dispositi catusi saxone

ARTHUR'S ST. MARY SHIELD AND CALIBURN, fo. 59.

hic Rex Archid. hnd. Luf. Imperatoris Regis

cu hanta. alii pondosoz lapidū iactū. alii cū lapid. alii cū alio
cūqz iocoz diuinitate gressientes. qd dicit testabat. Pro
ter lux pfectū. Quidqz ē uiciorū indi sui adept. erat. ab
archuro largimimibz otabatur. Contūptis autz prus i hūc.

LUCIUS IMPERATOR, fo. 61*b*.



75. Hic disposuit inclitus Rex Arthurus Regnum Constantino cognato suo filio Candoris ducis Cornubie. [*Morte Arthure*, 4317. The Latin text has Candor, like the rubric. The poet follows the orthodox form Cador.]
- 75^b. (xi. 8). De Britannia quomodo per paganos uit totaliter desolata.
76. (xi. 9). De ingenti lamentacione Britonum et divisione regni et quomodo Britones diadema regni amiserunt.
- 76^b. (xi. 12). De missione sancti Augustini a beato Gregorio papa in Britannia tota Xianitate iterato carente ad predicandum fidem qui eum audire nolebant.
[*Erkenwald*, 12.]
- 76^b. De Augustino.
77. Pagani Britannie et Xiani certamen inierunt ubi multi sancti monachi martirizantur propter fidem.
- 77^b. (xii. 1). De pace et concordia inter Caduanum regem et Ethelridum.
78. (xii. 3). De discordia Caduallanum et Edwynum inter quos divisum fuerat Britannie regnum.
- 78^b. (xii. 4). De Edwino quomodo Caduallanum in fugam convertit et de infortunio Cadwallani.
Nota de Pellito qui de volatu avium cursuque stellarum edoctus.
79. Quomodo Brian regis Cadwallani armiger scidisset frustrum proprie carnis et dedit regi ad vescendum. Hic venit rex ad regem Salomonem.
- 79^b. (xii. 5). Hic rex Salomon Britannie infortunia lamentavit et regi Cadwallano auxilium promisit.
80. (xii. 6). Hic Brianus transfretavit ut Pellitum de Yspania augurem et magum Edwyni regis perimeret. Hic in portu Hamonis applicuit.
- 80^b. (xii. 7). Hic Brianus Pellitum magum regis Edwyni interfecit.
81. (xii. 8). Hic Cadwallo cum exercitu suo applicuit et cum Peando congressus est et Cadwallo subicitur et Edwynum Regem interfecit et sic victoria potitus est.
81. (xii. 9). Hic omne genus Anglorum a finibus Britannie rex Cadwallo expulsi.
- 81^b. (xii. 10). Hic sanctus Oswaldus rex Northanhumbriorum a rege Peanda peremptus est.

14. 'ERKENWALD,' 'AWNTYRS OF ARTHURE,' AND 'THE PEARL.'

(1) '*Erkenwald*.'

Mention has been made of the tale of the dead judge found, after a thousand years and more, sleeping his last long sleep in the base of the heathen temple which preceded St. Paul's.¹ Now is to be shown the connection of that *Erkenwald* poem with the Hunterian MS., along with its no less

¹The *Miracula Sancti Erkenwald* MS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, does not at all account for the detailed and romantically specific story. Miss Mary Bateson most obligingly put herself to the trouble of examining this MS. for me.

interesting cross-relationship to the *Awentys of Arthure* and *The Pearl*. But first let us briefly recall the story of the poem itself. In digging the foundations of the 'mynster' there is unearthed in a stone coffin the body of a man royally crowned, sceptred, and clad, and in marvellous preservation. His face was fresh, and his cheek and lip as rosy as though he merely slept. Great wonderment and speculation arose; they searched all the libraries for a week, but no clue to the buried king could be found. Erkenwald that time was bishop. He had been absent in the rural part of his diocese, and was brought back by the strange news. Guided in his action by heavenly grace, robed in pontificals, with a goodly company of lords and barons and the Mayor of the city, he proceeded with all solemnity to the minster. After celebrating mass he passed to the tomb where the corse lay. There, in the name of Jesus, he addressed the dead, conjuring him to tell who he was and how he came to be buried so. There was a pause, then the body moved, and 'dreary' words came forth, in which the dead man declared that he

'Was never kynge ne cayser ne yet no knyght¹ nothyr,'

but had once been a judge in the city under a 'prince of parage.' He continued:

- l. 205 'The lengthe of my lyving here that is a lewid date
 Hit is to meche to ony mone to make of a noubre.
 After that Brutus this burghe had buggid one fyrste
 Noght bot fife hundred yere ther aghtene wontyd,
 Before that kynned your Criste by cristene acounte
 210 A thousand yere and thritty mo and yet threnene aght,
 I was ane heir of anoye in the New Troie,
 In the regne of the riche kyng that rewlit us thene,
 The bolde Bretone ser Belyne, ser Beryng was his brothire,
 Many one was the busmare bodene home bitwene
 215 For hor wrakeful werre quil hor wrathe lastyd;
 Then was I juge here enjoynyd in gentil lawe.'

Lewid, unskilful; *to meche*, too much; *buggid*, built; *threnene*, a form of *thryne*, three; *eye*, grandson, but here?; *busmare*, insult; *bodene*, offered.

¹ Compare *Wynmere and Wastoure*, 327: 'Ne es nothir keyser ne kyng ne knyghte that the folowes.'

- Thaghe had bene my fader bone, I bede hym no wranges,
 Ne fals favour to my fader thaghe telle hym be hongyt.
 245 And for I was ryghtwis and rekene and redy of the laghe,
 Quene I degged for dul denyed alle Troye.
 Alle menyd my dethe the more and the lasse,
 And thus to bounty my body thai buriet in golde,
 Claddene me for the curtest that courte couthe then holde,
 250 In mantel for the mekest and monlokest one benche,
 Gurdene me for the governour and graythist of Troie,
 Furril me for the fynest of faithe me withinne,
 For the honour of myne honeste of heghest enprise
 Thai coronyd me the kidde kyng of kene justises
 255 That ever was tronyd in Troye, other trowid ever shulde,
 And for I rewardid ever right thai raght me the septe."¹

Bone, boon (if my father were to be the gainer); *bede*, offered; *rekene*, worthy; *laghe*, law; *degged*, died; *denyed*, read *dinned*; *Troye*, i.e. New Troy, London; *menyd*, mourned; *bounty*, shew goodness; *curtest*, most courteous; *monlokest*, manliest; *gurdene*, girded; *tronyd*, enthroned (but perhaps *træved*, believed, heard of); *raght*, reached.

A further question as to the preservation of his body and the untainted brilliancy of his robes, accompanied by the suggestion that he had been embalmed, elicited from the strange witness the reply :

- 265 "Nay bisshop" quoth that body "enbawmed was I never,
 Ne no monnes counselle my clothe has kepyd unwemmyd,
 Bot the riche kyng of resone that right ever allowes
 And loves al the lawes lely that longene to trouthe,
 And more he menskes mene for mynnynge of ryghtes
 270 Then for al the meritorie medes that men one molde usene.
 And if renkes for right thus me arayed has,
 He has lant me to last that loves ryght best."¹

Unwemmyd, unstained; *kyng of resone*, God; *menskes*, graces; *mynnyng*, minding; *renkes*, men; *lant*, lent, granted it.

Was it only a poet's ideal, this great epitaph of an upright judge? May it not have been for such a conception of the majesty of justice that a certain

¹ Surely it was magnificently said. Bracton the great English lawyer, quoting the *Digest*, wrote (fo. 2b, 3): '*Jus dicitur ars bon et æqui cujus merito quis nos sacerdotes appellat; iustitiam namque colimus et sacra jura ministramus.*' Our poet is of the kin of Bracton, who, as has been finely expressed, 'feels that he is a priest of the law, a priest forever after the order of Ulpian.' Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* (1st ed.), i., 187.

Justiciar of Scotland was long after remembered as 'the good Sir Hew'? But to return to the tale, only to glance at its close. The dead judge had been a pagan; he was none of the number bought with the Saviour's blood on the rood; and he was an eternal exile from bliss, whose soul lay in sorrow and darkness. Men wept to hear the words. The tears of Erkenwald dropped on the dead man's face, and the bishop baptised him in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whereupon a further marvel befell. The dead lips opened once more to praise Christ; the baptism had 'slaked all his tene'; he had seen a light flash in heaven; and the unbarred spirit now entered there, where a marshal 'with menske aldergrattest' ushered him in. And then, 'as soon as the soul was seised¹ in bliss,' the fair countenance faded and failed, and the corse shrank into blackened dust. Bishop and people marched forth in procession; there was wonder and mourning and mirth; and all the bells in the burgh 'birred' at once.

Tokens of the most explicit character on the one hand associate this strange, powerful, and beautiful poem with the Hunterian MS. Dealing first with the lines just printed, it will be noted that the MS., fo: 10b, has a rubric applicable to line 207. The Belinus and Brennius lines (213-215) scarcely require comment, as they so explicitly render into verse the rubrics in ff. 16 (16b) and 17, to which *Wynnere and Wastoure* owes such allegiance. Observable specially is the use of the term of King to Belinus and of king's brother to Brennius equally in the Latin rubric and the alliterative poem.

Unquoted lines no less clearly bear out the connection with the MS., as will be seen by turning to the references in the last chapter:

7. 7 For hit hethene had bene in Hengyst dawes
That the Saxones unsaght hadene sende hyder.
[Rubric, fo. 43b, 44.]
- 15 He turnyd temples that tyme that temyd to the develle.
[Rubric, fo. 30b.]
- 25 Now that Londone is nevenyd hatte the New Troie,
The metropol and the mayster-tone hit evermore has bene.
[Rubric, fo. 40b.]

¹ The same legal figure of seisin in heaven occurs in *Pearl*, 417.

- 31 The third temple hit was told of Triapolitanes.
 36 That was the temple Triapolitane as I tolde ere.
 [Rubric, fo. 306, accounts for 'Triapolitane.']*¹

The last example may be taken as a particularly intimate association. The rubricator more than once carefully noted the metropolitan standing of London. The poet dwells on it too. In yet higher degree curious and striking is an arithmetical agreement. The MS. enables us to check the dead judge's computation of his own date—a computation which, not without justification, he reckoned too much for any man to make! Perhaps he was right in respect of irreconcilable MS. chronology, and of some confusion between the reigns of Belinus and his father. The date itself, notwithstanding the judge's caution, is poetically clear—in the light of the Hunterian MS.

Although the printed Geoffrey of Monmouth has no such date, the Hunterian MS. has a date Anno Mundi, 4482, forming part of the text just one chapter before the accession to the throne of the father of Brennius and Belinus. It has another date, 3449. The interval between these is 1033 years. The date given by the dead judge in *Erkenwald* was:

Noght bot fife hundred yere ther aghtene wontyd,
 A thousand yere and thritty mo and yet threnene aght.

That is, 482 years, or 500—18, after the building of London; the year 1033 before Christ. Let us check this by the Hunterian MS., which, with its $[4]482 - 3449 = 1033$, accounts, by its legendary arithmetic, not only for the 482, but also for the 1033.

In fact, through the marginal notes of the MS. and the text itself, we are enabled to explain some other things which the poem leaves obscure. Dunwallo, so Geoffrey of Monmouth vouches, not only made the Molmutine laws (one of which, *de fugitiuis*, concerned sanctuary, a subject on which we know that the author of *Morte Arthure* was learned), but did sound and strenuous justice. When he died, after forty years' rule—the 'forty winters' of the poem—he was buried in London near the temple of concord,

¹ A parallel may be observed: *Alex.* 1458.
 And bodword to the bischop broght
 of his come.

Erkenwald, 105. The bodeworde to the
 bischop was broght one a quile.

which, as the dead judge also indicates, had been consecrated by Dunwallo to his laws.¹ The dead judge is therefore a poetic equation of Dunwallo himself. And the judge's crown and burial in gold? Dunwallo, as Geoffrey tells us, made for himself a golden diadem,² and when his son and successor Belinus died his ashes were laid in a case or coffin of gold.³

(2) '*Awntyrs of Arthure*' and '*Pearl*.'

M. Amours in editing the *Awntyrs* supplied many admirable elucidations in the introduction and notes. As regards the sources, however, one he missed—the most important. The first part of the poem is beyond doubt an adaptation of the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*, a legend, of which an English poetical translation of the fourteenth century has been edited by Dr. Furnivall⁴ in 1866, and with a double text by Herr Kaufmann⁵ in 1889. The substance of the legend is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*,⁶ but in form differing materially from the story in the English poem. The English author begins by saying, 'A nobulle story wryte y fynde'—words from which its character as translation is a perhaps uncertain inference. However that may be, the author of the *Awntyrs* knew the *Trentalle* story in the same shape as it has in the English poem. It is not difficult to show the indebtedness.

¹ MS. U. 7, 25, fo. 15^b:

Rubricator's Note.

Hic rex est mortuus
cui Bellinus et Bren-
nius succederunt et
regnum inter se divi-
serunt

Text.

In diebus itaque ejus latronum mucrones cessabant; raptorum
sevitie obturabantur; nec erat usquam qui violentiam alicui
ingereret. Denique ut inter alia quadraginta annos post sumptum
diadema explevisset defunctus est et in urbe Trinovanto prope
templum concordie sepultus, quod ipse ad confirmationem legum
construxerat.

²[Dunwallo] fecit sibi diadema ex auro. Galf., ii. 17.

³[*Rubricator's Note.*]
Hic Bellinus ex hac
vita migravit.

[*Text.*] Postremo cum suprema dies ipsum ex hac vita rapuis-
set combustum est ejus corpus et pulvis in aureo cado reconditus
quem in urbe Trinovanto . . . locaverunt. Galf., iii. 10, MS. U,
7, 25, fo. 19.

⁴*Political Religious and Love Poems*, E.E.T.S., 1866, p. 83.

⁵*Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* herausgegeben von Albert Kaufmann (Erlangen, 1889).

⁶*Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., pp. 250, 384, 489, 503.

Trentalle Sancti Gregorii.

A grisly fiend-like creature all aflame
appears to Gregory at mass. (ll. 46. 55.)

Gregory 'halsed' it through God's might
to tell why it disturbed him so. (ll. 63, 68.)

It answers, 'I am thy modur that the
bere' (l. 72).

'I lived in lust wickedly.' (l. 89.)

Gregory replies: 'Tell me now, mother,
if anything may help,—bedes or masses?'
(ll. 95-97.)

The ghost answers that it might be well
with her:

Who so truly would take a 'trentalle
Of ten chief feasts of the year

To sing for me in this manner. (ll. 104-6.)

Gregory is glad, and promises that the
masses shall be sung. He bids his mother
reappear 'this time twelvemonth' to report
her condition. (ll. 131-8.)

Gregory never forgot his masses on the
days assigned (ll. 144-5).

Then an angel carries her off to heaven
(l. 186).

Here the parallelism of the *Awntyrs* with the *Trentalle* stops, and the
sole remark to be made is to point out how the alliterative poet by the

Awntyrs.

A howling and 'grisly ghost' all a-glow,
with a toad at her neck, appears to Gaynore
(Guinevere). (ll. 117-25.)

Gawayne conjures it by Christ to say
whence it came and why it walks thus.
(l. 133.)

It asks for Gaynore, and tells her 'I bare
thee of my body' (l. 204).

By that to-takenyng thou trow

I broke a solemn avow¹

That none wist but I and thou

And therefore dule I dree (ll. 205-8).

Gaynore says, 'Tell me now soothly what
may save, and I shall seek the saints for thy
sake.' (ll. 209-10.)

The ghost answers:

Were thirty 'trentalles' done

Betwixt undern and noon

My soul were salved full soon

And brought into bliss. (ll. 218-21.)

Gaynore promises:

Now hear heartily on hand I hest thee to
hold

With a million of masses (ll. 235-6).

[The ghost makes some prophecies not in
the *Trentalle*.]

Gaynore causes the masses to be read and
sung (ll. 703-6).

The ghost glides away (l. 325).

¹ This merest hint—of the incest which makes the legend of Gregory repulsive—illustrates two things. First, it shows the refining touch of Huchown's hand in respect of his leaving the rest unsaid. Secondly, it proves that Huchown knew more of the legend than appears in the English version of the *Trentalle*. The *Gesta Romanorum* form of the story accounts, by its reference to the tokens, for the allusion to privy knowledge which in the present poem appears meaningless. Besides, the toad, not in the English version, duly occurs in the Latin form of the story. See Herrtage's *Gesta*, p. 503, and Kaufmann's *Trentalle*, p. 26.

change of a single name deepened the power of the story he found in the legend of Gregory. For Gregory he substituted Guinevere, made her the subject to whom so terrible a lesson of the pains of adultery was delivered, and so with remarkable aptness, although indirectly and with delicacy, added to the moral. For surely to associate such a dread warning as this with the frail queen, who lives in romance history with her radiance so stained, was a touch of art. And we are not yet done with the *Trentalle*. Perhaps the reader has already noticed that whilst Gregory conjured his mother's ghost by God's might to explain itself, and Gawayne conjured the ghost of the mother of Gaynore by Christ to tell why it walked the earth, the good bishop in the *Erkenwald* had likewise bidden the dead judge, in the name of Jesus, say:

In worlde quhat wegh thou was and quy thou thus ligges (l. 185).

So in the *Trentalle* in obedience to the invocation

The gost answered with drury chere (l. 71),

while in *Erkenwald* the dead body stirs

And with a drery dreme dryves owte wordes
Thurgh sum lant goste (ll. 191-2).

Critics who are able lightly to call such things coincidences, and pass on, will please consider if the following also came by chance. The *Trentalle* story was not at an end where the *Avntyrs* left it; nor was the alliterative poet's borrowing account closed when all the masses for the soul of Guinevere's mother had been sung. He had a use for what of the *Trentalle* yet remained.

Trentalle.

Twelve months after the appearance of the ghost, as Gregory stood at mass,
He sawe a fulle swete syghte
A comely lady dressed and dyghte
That alle the worlde was not so bryght
Comely crowned as a qwene (ll. 152-5).

Nygh for joy he swooned (l. 158).

Pearl.

In *The Pearl* the father, visiting the grave of his two-year-old daughter, falls asleep there, and in a dream of heaven sees her 'in hir araye royale' wearing a crown high pinnaced with pearl (ll. 191-207), 'a coroun of grete tresore' (l. 237).

Her hare is as glysande golde (l. 165).
No man could have been gladder. His
'joy,' he says, was much the more (l. 234).

Trentalle.

He mistakes her for the Virgin Mary,
addressing her as

Lady, qwene of heven

Modyr of Ihesu, mayde Marye (ll. 162-3),
but she explains 'I am thy mother,' and
tells him that she owes her bliss to the
virtue of his prayers.

[The dilemma of the crown and other
courtly peculiarities of *Pearl* are dealt with
in *Scottish Antiquary*, Oct., 1901.]

That criticism will be purblind indeed which cannot now see several things—the colligation of the proofs of unity; the ties of the legend of the *Trentalle* with the alliterative *Awentyrs* and *Pearl* and *Erkenwald*; clearest possible relations of plot in these three poems side by side with slender, yet not the less distinct, verbal identities of text in each with the *Trentalle*; and at the same time the poet's quaint deference, even when he has visions of paradise, to the rules of precedence of the *Awle Ryale*. 'Why do you wear a crown?' was *Erkenwald*'s question to the dead judge. 'Why do you wear a crown?' was the father's question to his

Pearl.

Though he recognises her he cannot understand why his daughter should be a queen (l. 474), a difficulty to which he returns (l. 486), saying that he could have understood her being made a countess's maid (countes damysel) or a lady of less array (ll. 489-91),

Bot a queene hit is to dere a date ! (l. 492)

He had asked her :

Arte thou the queene of hevenz blwe ?

(l. 423)

—whom all honour,

Marye that grace of grewe

That ber a barne of vyrgyn flour ?

(ll. 425-6.)

The child, after addressing the Virgin as 'Makelez moder and myryest may' (ll. 434-5), explains how the Lamb of God when he took her to himself had crowned her queen (l. 415). She then unfolds the mystery of

The court or the kyndom of God alyve
(l. 445),

wherein each one that arrives becomes
either a queen or a king, and the Virgin
is the Empress (haldez the empyre) over
all,

For ho is queene of cortaysye (l. 447-
456).

lost pearl. And the question¹—which is of the very essence of each poem—comes from the same source as suggested the ghostly interview of Guinevere.

¹A few further words may well be devoted to *The Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, a trio of pieces found in the same MS. with *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. Dr. Richard Morris, editing the trio, advocated the claims of the poet-translator of the *Troy* to their authorship (*Early English Alliterative Poems*, E.E.T.S., pref., ix.), although denying that that poet-translator could have been Huichown. Reference may be made to the excellent reasons assigned in his preface for this association between the *Troy* and the three pieces in question. It is unnecessary to comment at this stage on the other part of his opinion. I endorse and accept Dr. Morris's proofs of unity of authorship, relying on my own manifold fresh arguments as to Huichown's personality. Mr. Gollancz, in his beautiful edition of the *Pearl*, also holds it and *Cleanness* and *Patience* to be from the same hand. His preface, concluding with a guess at the authorship and the inevitable denial of Huichown, interestingly covers a good deal of the general field of alliterative discussion. I append a few stray notes of correspondence between the three poems and the other works now under comparison. In *Cleanness* (ll. 1015-43) the description of the Dead Sea is taken bodily from the *Itinerarium* of Maundeville (ch. ix. of Wright, fo. 266+21 of MS. T. 4, 1), with possibly a line or two due to Hegesippus. In *Cleanness* also Belshazzar's sacrilegious table jewellery is described in terms borrowed from chapter xx. of the *Itinerarium*. Similarly, the allusion to Ararat and its Hebrew name (*Cleanness*, 447-8), comes from Maundeville, ch. xiii., although the spellings in MS. T. 4, 1, ro. 266+32^b, are 'Ararath' and 'Tain.' On the many points of similarity in phrase in these poems with the other pieces I am content to mention two or three. 'The pure popland hourle' of *Patience*, 319, is matched by 'the pure populand hurle' of *Alexander*, 1154. 'Noah that oft nevened the name' of *Cleanness*, 410, compares with 'Naw hafe I nevened yow the names' of *Parlement*, 580. 'The chef of his chevalrye he chekkes to make' (*Cleanness*, 1238) resembles 'And chefyd hym nott or chevalry chekez oute of nombre' (*Alexander*, 3098). Extremely interesting is a line probably taken from reminiscence of the *Troy*:

'Belfagor and Belyal and Belssabub als' (*Cleanness*, 1526).

'Sum Beall sum Belus sum Bell the god

Sum Belphegor and Belsabub as hom best likes' (*Troy*, 4356-7).

A good parallel from *Titus* is:

Cleanness, 1413. 'And ay the nakeryn noyse notes of pipes.'

Titus, 848-9.

'With dynning of pipis

And the nakerer noyse.'

Titus, 1174-5. '. . . and pypys with nakerers and grete noyce. . . .'

For nakers (Fr. *nacaire*) see *Murimuth*, p. 156, *sonantibus tubis et nachariis*.

'"Wassayl," he cryes' (*Cleanness*, 1508), said of Belshazzar, again effects a cross-

The critic's task will be simplified by a parallel tabulation of lines in these poems shewing consecutive use of *Trentalle* in all three.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>TRENTALLE.</i>	<i>Awntyrs.</i>	<i>Pearl.</i>	<i>Erkenwald.</i>
Darkness,	l. 50	l. 75-6	—	—
'Grisly ghost,'	55-61	105-15	—	—
Conjuration,	63	133	—	179
Christ,	66	133	—	180
'Why'?	69	136	—	185-8
'Dreary' speech,	71	—	—	191-2
Mother,	72	203	—	—
Confession,	83-92	205-8	—	—
Prayers,	95-97	209-10	—	—
'Trentals,'	104	218	—	—
Promise,	131-8	235	—	—
Fulfilment,	144	708	—	—
Supposed Queen,	152-5	—	191-229	{ [king] } { 98, 222 }
Joy,	158	—	234	—
'Queen of heaven,'	162	—	423	—
Mary 'Mother,'	163	—	425-35	—
Crowning,	155	—	480	254
In hell,	172	—	—	292
Released,	186	—	—	335

How could an imitator or any imaginable 'school' of poets, as distinguished from an individual, have hit on such a unity of system? It includes absolute indebtedness of ground plan in each poem, along with minor verbal transfers in each, a singular exhaustion of the entire content of *Trentalle's* plot (*Pearl* resuming the thread precisely where the *Awntyrs* dropped it), and finally an observance of the same consecutive order as in the original through all three alliterative adaptations of the *Trentalle*, two of which swell the multiplied coincidences by ending¹ with the opening line.

connection with the rubrication *sermo de woseil* above noted (ch. 13) on fo. 44b. of the MS. of Geoffrey. Compare also

'Lyfte laddres ful longe and upon lofte wonen' (*Cleanness*, 1777).

'Layn ladders alenght and oloft wonnen' (*Troy*, 4751).

Siege descriptions, shipping, storms, weather, hall and court in all the poems all lend points in the same direction.

¹ *Awntyrs*, ll. 1, 1212. *Pearl*, ll. 1, 715.

15. ON SYSTEM OF VERSE, DIALECT, CHARACTERISTICS, DATE, AND NATIONALITY.

(1) *System of Verse.*

The words of Wyntoun have a particular value in respect that they point to three poems differing in theme, character, and metrical construction. *Morte Arthure*, styled by Wyntoun the *Great Gest of Arthure*, is a historical romance, or rather a romantic history, and is like the *Alexander*, the *Troy*, the *Titus*, the *Parlement*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, *Erkenwald*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, a work in unrimed alliteration. One thus appreciates the more the technical propriety of Wyntoun's reference to 'cadens' as a vital element of Huchown's performances, for 'cadence' seems to have been the term applied to alliteration as distinguished from rime. Indeed, the life-story of this old system of verse, once sole possessor of the field of English speech, with its sudden interruption and disuse followed by the fourteenth century revival of it, may all be inferred from the Romance-word 'cadence' found linked with it first in an alliterative prose tractate in imitation of Richard Rolle of Hampole, who, in at least one learned opinion, was a force in its English revival.¹ The word 'Cadence' is there contrasted with 'Ryme,' a contradistinction followed by Chaucer as well as by Gower.² When, therefore, Wyntoun excuses Huchown's 'Emperour' because 'Procuratour' would have 'grieved the cadence,' the allusion is specific. 'Cadence' was the only mode used in most of the poems, including *Morte Arthure*. But Wyntoun also alludes to Huchown's 'metre,' a word connoting rime as well as measure, and accordingly certain of the poems exemplify the combination of alliteration

¹ The passage referred to is in 'A talkyng of the love of God' (Horstman's *Rolle of Hampole*, ii., 345): 'Men schal fynden lihtliche this tretys in Cadence after the bygynninge gif it bee riht poynted and Rymed in sum stude.' The piece is accordingly partly alliterative and partly in rime. Rolle of Hampole's *Melum Contemplativorum* is written in alliterative Latin verse and prose. Horstman's *Hampole*, ii., introd. xviii.-xxii., has many specimen passages. Prof. Horstman has stated his view as to the influence of Hampole in the words: 'As a writer he took up the old traditions of the north: he revived the alliterative verse.'

² See note ch. I above.

and rime. *Gawayne and the Green Knight* is chiefly in unrimed alliteration, but has four half or tag-lines riming *abab* at the end of each of the hundred and one stanzas. *The Awntyrs of Arthure* is likewise alliterative, but rimed throughout in a stanza of nine full lines and four half lines, all riming thus, *ababababdddc*. In the *Pistill of Susan* the same rime and almost the very same structure obtain, the only difference being that the ninth line is a 'bob' of only two syllables. The *Pearl* stands by itself as less systematically alliterative, and as using octosyllabic iambs in stanzas of twelve lines, riming *ababababbc*. M. Amours has said¹ that *Morte Arthure* is above all the other poems distinguished by the numerous series of consecutive lines having the same alliterative letter. This is an effective contrast, but that both the consecutive and not-consecutive systems were alike available to the poet is seen from the exordium of the *Alexander* with its 22 lines alliterating on five letters, compared with the rest of the poem in which the consecutive mode is discarded.

Two other poems fall to be mentioned here. One is *St. John the Evangelist*,² closely resembling the structure of the *Awntyrs of Arthure* and riming *ababababddcd*. This poem of 264 lines, which some critics think belongs to Huchown,³ is certainly from one of Huchown's sources, the *Legenda Aurea*, being a translation of the legend of St. John in that monumental mingling of piety and romance. The second poem is one of haunting sweetness and beauty, the authorship of which will not long remain in doubt after the argument of this essay has received its due. It is the tender and musical *Lay of the Truelove*, styled by Mr. Gollancz the 'Quatrefoil of Love.' It is, as Mr. Gollancz records, written in a northern dialect and in the precise metre and rime, *ababababdddc*, of the *Pistill of Susan*. Moreover, M. Amours acutely noted, in editing the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, that it was a favourite device of the poet who wrote *Gawayne* and *Pearl* and *Patience* to end the poem with its opening line,

¹ *Sc. Allit. Poems*, lxvii.

² Horstman's *Altenglischen Legenden*, neue folge (Heilbronn, 1881), p. 467.

³ My friend, Mr. J. T. T. Brown, maintains this view, with which my own coincides. There are many parallels of diction and matter to support it.

'a peculiarity,' he said, 'which has not been noticed elsewhere.' Accordingly, M. Amours reckoned it noteworthy that in the *Aventyrs* also this peculiarity¹ should be found. To the list falls to be added the *Lay of the Truelove*. A fact so significant of art as this, along with the close consonance of verse structure and rime system, is enough to discredit as the sheerest empiricism the verdict of Mr. Henry Bradley,² that the *Pistill* and the *Aventyrs* were originally written in alliterative long lines unrimed, and as we now have them are 'paraphrases or watered-down versions by a northern man who retained the original diction so far as the alteration of metre would permit.' The proposition is grotesque—a reckless philological forlorn hope.

(2) *Dialect.*

All requisite allowance being made for a considerable percentage of scribal change, the dialect (some would say dialects) of the Huchown poems must constitute a problem on which it is hard to educe any certainty except the one, that the dialect shows a blending of peculiarities. Professor Skeat concluded³ that the *Alexander* 'was probably written in a pure Northumbrian dialect.' Mr. Donaldson, editing the *Troy*, concluded⁴ that that work 'was originally in the Northumbrian dialect,' stating at the same time that *Morte Arthure* 'was certainly of Northern origin.' Dr. Morris did not agree; he held *Morte Arthure* to be in a Northumbrian dialect south of the Tweed, and assigned the *Troy* along with *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience* to the West Midland dialect.⁵ M. Amours found⁶ that the rimes of the *Aventyrs of Arthure* and of the *Pistill of Susan* 'betoken a Northern origin.' *The Parlement* and *Wynnere and Wastoure* Mr. Gollancz assigns to the west of England. Mr. Henry Bradley is quite positive⁷ that *Morte Arthure*, the *Pistill*, and the *Aventyrs* were all originally written in West Midland dialect, but were subsequently northernised by editorial scribes. A very fair statement of the case was perhaps that made long ago by Mr. Donaldson who,

¹ *Scott. Allit. Poems* (Sc. Text), p. 364.

² *Athenæum*, 12th Jan., 1901.

³ *Alex.*, pref., xxiii.

⁴ *Troy*, pref., lxi.,

⁵ *Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, pre., ix.; *Morte Arthure*, ed. Perry, 1865, pref., ix.

⁶ *Sc. Allit. Poems*, pref., lxx.

⁷ *Athenæum*, 12th Jan., 1901.

speaking of the *Troy*,¹ declared that the elements of the work were Northern and West Midland, but that their combination was so irregular as to permit the idea that they presented a mixture of dialects. This is not far from the belief of the present essayist. The dialect of these alliterative poems shows, like that of the *Kingis Quair*, a difficult admixture of Northern and Southern forms, and conduces to the inference that the poet's education and his later career must have been such as to reconcile the apparent anomaly. Anglo-French influences, then predominant in court circles, must have tended to make the speech of the aristocracy lean decisively, even as it does to-day, towards the southern model.

(3) *Dates for the Poems.*

Absolute and relative points of fixity for dates are not many. Maundeville's latin book, written in 1356, is the first. The *Alexander*, quoting Maundeville, could not have been written before 1356. The *Troy* most probably followed the *Alexander*, and was quoted by Barbour in 1376. These two extreme dates comprised between them for Huchown a couple of crowded decades of earnest study and glorious achievement.

Wynmere and Wastoure, poetically grouping facts which English annalists record under 1358, certainly belongs to that time. It admits of suggestion that as a Garter poem complimentary to Edward III., and containing a translation of the well-known motto of the Order, it may have been composed for the high festival of the Round Table held in the early summer of 1359, and evidently attended by Sir Hew of Eglintoun.

Gawayne, with its beautiful story of temptation resisted, has for its pictorial conclusion the Garter motto in French. The suggestion of Mr. Gollancz that the story has to do with the amorous relations of Edward III. and the Countess of Salisbury may or may not be plausible,² but certainly he has good ground for maintaining a connection with the story of the origin of the Garter. Indeed the relationship with the chivalric Orders is more intimate than has yet been pointed out. Gawayne, setting off to keep tryst and fulfil his adventure with

¹ *Troy*, pref., lx.

² *Pearl*, intro. xli.

the Green Knight, wears a 'cote' (l. 2027) which is 'furred' (2029). He 'doubles' about his thigh the love-lace 'drurye,' or 'gordel of the grene silke' (2033-5) with 'pendauntez' (2038) which his fair temptress gave. At the end of his adventure when he parts with the Green Knight he wears this crosswise on his left arm—

A-belef¹ as a bauderyk bounden bi his syde
Loken under his lyfte arme the lace with a knot (ll. 2486-7).

These are the very technicalities of fact. When Henry IV., just before his coronation in 1399, made knights, they wore green 'cottes'—so Froissart² tells—which were 'fourrees,' and each knight 'sur la senestre espaulle' wore 'un double cordeau de soye blanche a blanches houpells pendans.' And from other sources we know that this kind of 'lacs,' or 'druerie' as it was styled in France, was in England one of the fixed *stigmata* of knighthood and bore the name of 'las.'³ Only the tinctures here differ from Froissart's. The 'gordel' (O. Fr. cordel) is the bend of green,

A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bryght-grene,
which became the badge of the Round Table in *Gawayne* (l. 2517). It is of special note as the point of focus for the plot of that poem. We must remember it likewise as present in *Wynne and Wastoure*. Over against the papal standard with its bibles and *bullae*

Another banere is upbrayde with a bende of grene
With thre hedis whiteherede with howes on lofte (ll. 149-50).

The hint perfectly consorts with history: Edward III., represented by the Round Table badge, is on the side of the three excommunicated judges whom, in 1358, he protected from the pope and his bulls against the judges and others. The banner symbolises the union of royal and judicial authority which the pope defied. The one poem is thus the decisive explanation of the other, and probably they are not far apart in time. *Gawayne* has been assigned to 1360, a date with which there

¹ *A-belef*, slantwise, across.

² Cf. *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux*. (Hist. So.), p. 225; *Titles of Honor*, ed. 1631, p. 820. Cf. as to garter *Galf. le Baker*, 203.

³ See Laborde's *Glossaire Français du Moyen Age*, words 'druerie' and 'lacs' (laz, laqs): Upton, *De Re Militari*, cap 3, quoted by Ducange *voce* 'stigma.'

is no great need to quarrel, although I incline to place it earlier, perhaps before the production of *Wynnere and Wastoure*. This would put it on the calendar of 1358 or 1359. In early 1358 there were great Round Table functions, and either then or very shortly afterwards Sir Hew was in London. But a noteworthy feature of the poem is its recurrent allusion to New Year's Day,¹ a vital part of the story, which gives rise to the belief that it may have been written for a New Year festival.

These poems seem to be the earliest of the series on the chronology of which the facts yield clues. Of *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, Mr. Gollancz's estimate² of 1360 is probably not far wrong, although these pieces, like the *Alexander*, shew use of *Maundeville*, only written in 1356. *Erkenwald* and the *Aventyrs of Arthure* are inseparable from *Pearl* when sources are considered, and there is no external evidence of the order of production. A glance at their relations with the *Trentalle* inclines one to suppose that the *Aventyrs* may have preceded *Pearl*. Let us, in the absence of other data, suppose that the *Alexander*, certainly *post* 1356, was written *circa* 1361; and the *Troy* a year later.

The *Titus and Vespasian*, like the *Alexander*, utilised *Maundeville*, and by its mention of the Foul Death suggested 1363 as a possible date. Its vows are hints of the influence of the *Voeux du Paon*. *Morte Arthure*, utilising *Maundeville* also, and developing the *Voeux du Paon*, has yielded very many and intimate historical evidences converging towards a date at the close of 1364 or beginning of 1365. Again we have here a Round Table poem honouring loftily Edward III., and again we have Sir Hew in London in May, 1365, a time that suits.

The date *circa* 1350, which has been editorially suggested for the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, is out of the question. Obviously it is yet later than *Morte Arthure*, in that while reminiscent of *Maundeville* and the *Voeux du Paon* it quotes *Gaywayne*, *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*, and is itself a dream, springing from a dream-episode in the *Troy*.

Between 1365 and 1376 there was ample time, but perhaps the extra

¹ *Gaywayne*, ll. 60, 105, 284, 454, 1054, 1669.

² *Pearl* intro., xlii.

number of the reminiscent lines of community with *Morte Arthure* hints rather 1365-70 than 1370-76.

(4) *Characteristics and Nationality.*

Our poet's general characteristics have been incidentally touched at frequent points already—his courtly and ceremonial leanings and observance of etiquette, his love of ship-scenes and the chase, his lapidary interest in jewels, his purity and loftiness of soul, his piety and religiosity of spirit. His themes, it may be observed, while ranging widely over history and romance, never make love a centre.

When we turn to the question of indications of nationality in the treatment of his material, the difficulty at once arises that a poet has no call to declare his nationality, and that in consequence, where dialect is doubtful, we have many puzzles of early literature to solve. Language is often the only test, and philology has assuredly not yet perfected its critical apparatus.¹ In the present case inferences from dialect are sharply complicated by the contradiction of history. On Huchown's language definite stress cannot be laid to prove his origin, and his themes not being directly historico-patriotic in the sense of, say, Barbour's *Bruce*² or Minot's poems, the data are particularly few and slender.

Externally, the record of Huchown is wholly Scottish; this is by far the master-key of his mystery. The *Troy* appears to be quoted by John Barbour in 1376. The *Morte Arthure* is discussed by Wyntoun in 1420, while other pieces of Huchown's are mentioned in the same passage. No early author in England, on the other hand, has ever named Huchown or recognised his poetical industry, notwithstanding that English scribes have copied the poems and Malory incorporated in his prose much of Huchown's Arthurian matter.

¹ It is just possible, however unlikely, that in the words 'and Scharshull it wiste' (and Scharshill knew it—said relative to a disturbance of the peace) in *Wynne and Wastoure*, 317, there may be a clue to the youthful career of Sir Hew of Eglintoun. Scharshill was in Scotland attending to matters in Edward Balliol's parliament in 1332 (Bain's *Calendar*, iii., 1065). At that time many Scottish families were retiring into England because of the civil war in Scotland (Bain's *Cal.*, iii., 1065-84).

² Note, however, that even in Barbour's *Legends of the Saints* the express indications of nationality otherwise than from language are very few.

Huchown's great romance-history, *Morte Arthure*, might well have been written by an Englishman, whether regard is had to its language or its tone; but here and there are touches, subtle and penetrating, that suggest an author with a keen interest in Scotland and sympathy for peace and alliance between north and south. Chief is that already pressed—the veiled reference to the heir-apparent. But the general political scheme, if it may be so called, of *Morte Arthure* puts the Scottish leanings of its author in the clearest light. In Geoffrey of Monmouth, King Anguselus, as an ally of Arthur, is postponed to Hoel of Armorica; there is no separate king of Wales, and there are some six kings of island realms. Hoel furnishes 10,000 men-at-arms; Anguselus only 2,000. Arthur himself made up the total of armoured horse to 60,000. The six island kings furnished six times 20,000 foot. Turning now to the rubrication (by Huchown) of this place in the *Brut*, we find noted *In exercitu regis Arthuri duo reges*—an inaccurate memorandum, for there were eight kings, not two. But *Morte Arthure*, like the rubric, has only two. The King of Armorica, or, as Huchown preferred to style it, Little Britain or Britain the Less, sinks in *Morte Arthure* to 'baron of Britain the little,'¹ though he brings 30,000 knights to Arthur's banner. And precedence before him is taken by the King of Scotland with 50,000 men, while the gallant King of the Welsh brings 2,000. Could a Scottish poet contributing, let us say, a Round Table poem for the festival of the Order of the Garter, at which his own king was an honoured guest, well have done better?

In the direction hinted tends also the curious allusion in *Morte Arthure* to the heir-apparent,

'Thou art apparent to be heir, or one of thy childer,'

a line which betrays a knowledge of the intrigue between the Kings of England and Scotland in 1363-64, constituting part of a reconciliation in the earlier stages of which, at any rate, Sir Hew of Eglintoun had definitely a helping hand. Besides, there are localities mentioned in *Morte Arthure*, and still more in the *Awentyrs of Arthure*, which reveal some intimacy with Scotland. On the later poem, M. Amours,² examining the topographical allusions, finds

¹ *Barones de Britannia* was a term of state in this period. See instance in truce of 1343, *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 142.

² *Scot. Allit. Poems*, introd., lxxij.

it an 'obvious inference that the poet knew his ground in Scotland and on the Border, and drew on his imagination for localities further south.'

In the *Alexander* poem, the exclusion of Scotland from the conquests of the Macedonian may be an accident, but may be a straw which indicates the current.

If it be asked who Huchown's chief hero was, the answer is ready—it was Gawayne 'off the west marches,' as he calls him once, although we know that more than once he really denotes the Black Prince.¹ Gawayne, it is scarcely necessary to urge, was well known in romance history as the lord of Galloway. So early and sober an author as William of Malmesbury² tells of the discovery of the sepulchre of 'Walwen,' who had reigned in 'Walweitha.' Huchown's provinces of Cunningham and Kyle, in which his own lands and the Steward's territory lay, were of old within the limits of the Province of Galloway. However his interest in Gawayne arose, Huchown went beyond his predecessors in the many-sidedness of his praise for valour and purity, for grace and courtesy.

Then, what of Belinus and Brennius as indications of nationality? Are we to take it as of no note that this pair of brothers, kings of North Britain and South, are not only mentioned in *Morte Arthure* and *Erkenwald*, but supply the plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure*? Rather must we not remember their reconciliation as a type to the poet of the peace he sought between two lands?

And Thomas of Erceldoun? Must we respect it as a natural presumption that anybody but a Scot would in that age have been found quoting these weird prophecies—prophecies which again had to do with the very theme of Belinus and Brennius, the feud of South and North?

Last of all, let us look at a singular parallel. Sir Hew of Eglintoun had, immediately upon the accession of Robert II. to the Scottish throne, become a privy councillor of his royal brother-in-law. Shortly afterwards he appears as an auditor in exchequer, an important financial post. A colleague is the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, known of all men in our day as John Barbour, the poet of *The Bruce*. If these men sat together in the Scottish *Aula Regis*, and if the poetic Huchown was the auditorial Sir

¹ *Morte Arthure*, 2954.

² *Gesta Regum* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 466.

Hew, the question may well ensue—What are the proofs, if any, of literary contact? The first item of the answer is constituted by the alliterative quotations made by Barbour from the *Troy*, and the traces, somewhat indefinite, it is true, of borrowings from *Morte Arthure*.¹ The second item is, that historically Huchown's name stands for ever linked with the 'Awle Ryale' of Barbour's period by virtue of the epithet Wynthoun appended. The third is the singular coincidence of sources—especially of *The Bruce*—employed by Barbour with those of Huchown. Huchown was, presumably, the older man; he certainly was of much higher social dignity than Barbour; he was a man of large means. It is much more natural to suppose that Huchown influenced Barbour than the converse. However it was, here are facts oddly connecting the modes of work and the *Quellen*.

Huchown

Translates Guido's *Troja*, and frequently refers to the story.

Epitomises the *Fuerre de Gadres*.

Makes large use of the *Voeux du Paon*.

Epitomises the *Voeux*.

Repeatedly sings the praises of the Nine Worthies.

Epitomises the romance of *Ferunbras* in a shape resembling the *Sowdan of Babylon*.

Uses the *Legenda Aurea* in *Titus* for 'The Sege of Jerusalem' and for 'St. John the Evangelist.'

Bases his greatest poem, *Morte Arthure*, on the *Brut*.

Cites and quotes the *Romaunt of the Rose*.

Barbour

Partly translates the *Troja* in the *Troy fragments*.

Also quotes a passage from it in the *Bruce*, i., 521-528.

[See my *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, pp. 4, etc.]

Epitomises the *Fuerre de Gadres* in *Bruce*.

Also abridges and translates the *Fuerre*.

Makes large use of the *Voeux du Paon*.

Translates (*me judice*) the *Voeux* in full.

Celebrates the Nine in *Bruce* and in the *Buik of Alexander*.

Is suspected of writing the 'Ballad of the Nine Nobles.'

Makes Robert the Bruce epitomise *Ferunbras* in apparently the same version.

Translates from the *Legenda Aurea* the account of the siege, and the life of St. John.

Bases his important poem, the *Stewartis Orignal*, on the *Brut*.

Also cites and quotes it, *Legends of the Saints*, prologue, l. 5.

¹ The *Troy fragments* show few alliterative phrases; *Bruce* has many, so has the *Buik of Alexander*; the *Legends of the Saints*, again, has very few. The inference may be hazarded that Huchown's influence, 1372-1377, is the explanation.

Huchown

Quotes the prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoun, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, 5, 13-15.

Uses the Scriptures as a source, *Pistill*, *Pearl*, etc.

Refers (like Chaucer) to St. Julian, *Gawayne*, 774.

Barbour

Cites and quotes 'Thomas of Hersildoune,' *Bruce*, ii., 86.

Does the same.

Refers to St. Julian, *Legends of the Saints*, xxv., 15.

Some of these are commonplaces; the majority quite other than so. The comparison suggests the improbability of two men, not brought into contact, displaying any such parallelism in their authorities. The one in alliteration, the other in rime; the one by far the loftier, profounder, more powerful, and more original genius, the other perhaps the luckier in that he chose Robert the Bruce for his theme—these are the twin spirits of Scottish fourteenth century literature from the Exchequer table of the Awle Ryale. Always we must return to Wyntoun's testimony; and that is what Wyntoun and the Exchequer records tell.

16. DIAGRAM OF THE ARGUMENT.

(1) *As regards the Works.*

The evidences which have now been submitted are, it must be repeated, for the most part wholly new. They include the following propositions, set forward and proved for the first time:

1. Relationship of *Alexander* and *Troy* through Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, indicating a very possible community of origin from the same manuscript source, on which, however, no vital part of this argument is dependent.
2. Direct borrowing in *Titus* of a complete scene and a siege picture from the *Troy*.
3. Direct borrowing in *Morte Arthure* from *Titus* over and above its known connection with and borrowing of many lines from *Troy*.
4. Adaptations in *Morte Arthure* from the *Voeux de Paon*.
5. Consistent indebtedness throughout of the *Parlement* to *Gawayne*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*.
6. The plot of the *Parlement* drawn from *Troy*.
7. Maundeville's *Itinerarium* (of which a copy is in MS. T. 4, 1)

used as a minor source in *Alexander*, *Morte Arthure*, *Parlement*, *Pearl*, and *Cleanness*.

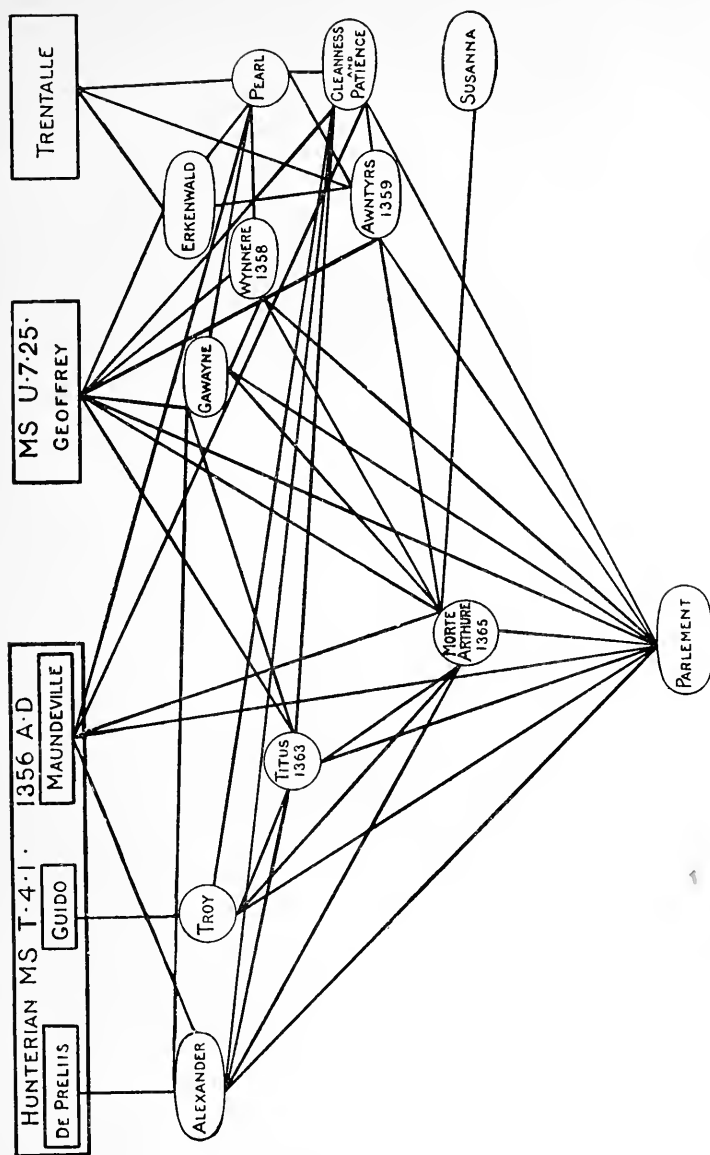
8. Extraordinary consequence of the Hunterian copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, MS. U. 7, 25, especially of its rubrications.
9. Plot of *Wynnyere and Wastoure* thus revealed in Geoffrey, along with important clues to other poems, especially *Morte Arthure*, *Titus*, and *Erkenwald*.
10. Brennius and Belinus as poetic factors in Huchown's work.
11. The historical setting of *Wynnyere and Wastoure* explained, and the significance in evidence of the 'bend of green.'
12. *Erkenwald* considered in itself as a legal monument and in its relation to other poems and to the MS. of Geoffrey.
13. *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* a common source of the first half of *Awentys of Arthure*, of *Erkenwald*, and of the *Pearl*.
14. Considerations from military, political, and geographical elements on the date of *Morte Arthure*.
15. An autobiographic suggestion from the MS. of Geoffrey on the series of poems and on the nationality of the poet.

So varied, although so convergent, are the processes of reasoning which point to a single author that they can only be briefly summarised by a diagram here. The direction of the argument had to be determined somewhat by the chance of earlier impressions tending at first as the knowledge originally available dictated, but altering and extending its line in consequence of subsequent information. Perhaps this diagrammatic chart will be explanatory not so much of the course which has been steered by the argument as of the cross-connections established by cables laid down in the poet's own works.

Poems that draw from the same sources draw from one another.

Poems connected with the special rubrics of the same unique MS. draw from one another.

The author of the last poem on the diagram, if not Huchown, must have had extraordinary zeal as disciple or industry as plagiarist if he wove into his short text so much of other men's labours that his poem is linked from end to end with practically the entire cycle of the Huchown poems.

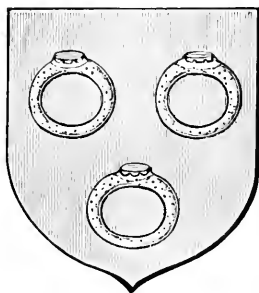


CONNECTION OF THE POEMS: shewing (1) some sources and occasionally the order of descent, (2) the existence of identical or closely similar lines common to the connected poems, and (3) some approximate dates.

Put the same point another way. Take *Morte Arthure*. What rational basis other than common authorship will explain its ties with *Troy*, *Titus*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, and the *Aventyrs of Arthure*?

Or consider the lines which radiate in the diagram from the MS. of Geoffrey and which in so many different poems meet the lines travelling from the *Parlement* or the *Gawayne*.

(2) *As regards the Poet.*



ARMS OF SIR HEW OF EGLINTOUN.¹

That the poet was familiar with courtly usages; had special legal knowledge and sympathy; had the highest conception of the grandeur of justice, especially 'in gentil wise'; was versed in ships and in the chase; had access to current information of state; had pondered deeply the case of Brennius and Belinus; loved the peace and union of North and South and deplored 'busmar'; gave Scotland precedence of dignity in *Morte Arthure*; kept Scotland out of subjection in the *Alexander*; made the Scot Sir Gawayne his constant hero; had special interests in the Round Table and its celebrations; knew London, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, the West Marches and the land 'fro Humbyre to Hawyke'; used several of the special authorities employed by John Barbour; in especial knew the prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoun; was much alive to

¹One of the many notes Mr. Gollancz has not got on the *Pearl* is that Sir Hew of Eglintoun's armorial bearing was 'three annulets stoned' (three rings of gold each set with a single jewel). Bain's *Calendar*, iv., 1111; Woodward and Burnett's *Heraldry*, 1892, plate xix. Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i., 225, describes the arms as gules, three annulets or, stoned azure. See *Gawayne*, 1817.

matters lapidary; understood the Watling Street way from the north to Canterbury; likewise knew the itinerary to Rome; was acquainted with the sword-point formulary of assythment for manslaughter; knew about 'fermes' and 'audytours,' chancellors and chamberlains, as well as 'justices of landes,' whose duty was to 'justify wele';¹ somehow knew also that it was proper for royalty that 'its kydde castells be clenlyche arrayede';² had breathed the air of camps and chivalry, and mingled with nobles, and statesmen, and ambassadors, and kings—all these and fifty other such characteristics of the poet directly and indirectly fit the known story of 'the gude Sir Hew of Eglintoun.'

17. GALLEROUN AND GOLAGROS—A DECISIVE PERSONAL CLUE.³

The Awntyrs of Arthure is generally conceded to Huchown. *Golagros and Gawayne* was reckoned his by Sir Frederick Madden as it contains so many elements of similitude. M. Amours, re-editing the poem in his *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, acknowledges that the vocabulary is of the 14th century, although assigning the piece from its existing form to a later date. Briefly, it seems clear to me that Sir Frederick Madden was right and that some modernization of the language is due to the Scottish printers through whom the sole known version of the poem has been preserved. No commentator on the *Awntyrs* and *Golagros* has noticed these four points in connection with them (1) their complete parallelism of allegory, (2) the close, if *quasi*, historical character of both, (3) the distinct evidence of date in the *Awntyrs*, and (4) the appositeness amounting to necessity of that date also for *Golagros*.

The *Awntyrs*, as we have seen, draws the plot of its first half from the *Trentalle*. The greater part of *Golagros* comes from the French romance of *Perceval le Gallois* (ll. 16331-624, 18209-19446), which, as has long been known, was utilised in the shaping of *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. But it is the supplementing of these sources by very lightly shrouded con-

¹ *Morte Arthure*, 425, 660-664.

² *Morte Arthure*, 654. Sir Hew was one of a commission of four knights appointed in 1368 *ad quatuor castra regis visitanda*. *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., 504.

³ This chapter is an insertion made after all the previous part was in paged proof. The discovery it contains was made at the eleventh hour.

temporary allusions which is the vital fact for due criticism. These occur mainly in the second half of the *Awntyrs*, and are perhaps more pervasive of *Golagros* throughout. In the *Golagros* poem the fact in substance is that Golagros represents King John of France, Arthur is Edward III., Gawayne is the Black Prince, and the duel is the battle of Poitiers, while the white horse is that ridden by the French king on that ill-fortuned day. The *Awntyrs* contains a reference, of a significance until now unobserved, to the *Erlis sone of Kent*, which pins down the production to a date not earlier than 1358 and not later than 1360. The poem has allusion to events of the summer of 1358. Here again Arthur is Edward III. and Gawayne is the Black Prince, while Galleroun is a historical and allegorical representative of Scotland. Neither poetical nor political allegories are designed to be free of occasional mistiness of treatment, but these inferences on Golagros and Galleroun are inevitable and beyond critical doubt. Nor is this all. A rare and happy chance of record has made possible the decisive interpretation of an allusion in the *Awntyrs* (italicised below) as autobiographical of the poet himself, confirming the sense deduced from the poem, fixing its date, and settling the personal identity of the immortal Huchown. First, let us look at Golagros, remembering that King John, although a prisoner, was fêted and feasted in 1358 and 1359.

Contemporary History.

Edward III., at war with King John of France, commissions Black Prince to take homage of Aquitaine (*Rymer*, 4th Aug., 1355). Landing at Bordeaux, a walled city with castle, the Prince is welcomed by its famous Captal de Buch, John de Grailly (Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ll. 524, 616, 678), and other barons of Gascony, who march with the Prince in his expedition across mountainous territory to Carcassonne, a castled city with many towers (now fifty-four) on a rock, double walled (*Galf. le Baker*, 235), on the river Aude, near the Mediterranean. The Captal's local knowledge was helpful in the selection of the route (Moisant's *Prince Noir*, 28). Carcassonne is considered through the middle ages to be

Golagros and Gawayne.

King Arthur sends Gawayne as his messenger to a fortified city beyond sea (42) with towers and battled walls and castle (44).

Gawayne is welcomed by its lord Spynagros, who offers him 30,000 men (197). The army, marching over the mountains (230-5), reaches a castle with thirty-three towers, on a rock, double dyked, on a river side near the sea (233-50). Spynagros, who knew the land well (344), guides and counsels Gawayne (261, 341, etc.). The castle has a circular keep—'the round hald' (371).

Golagros, lord of the castle, refuses homage (452).

Heavy fighting, after an interval, ensues (600-880).

Contemporary History.

impregnable. It has its chief stronghold in a great circular tower built in the thirteenth century—*la grosse barbacane*. Viollette Duc's *La Cité de Carcassonne*, pp. 20, 70, figs. 11, 15. The city will not submit (*Galf. le Baker*, 236, 3-6 Nov., 1355), adhering to its lord, King John.

After various battles King John—at Poitiers in 1356—royally armed meets the Prince. At the battle John rides a white horse. *Estoit li roys de Franche montés sur ung blanc courssier* (Amiens MS. of Froissart quoted in Polain's *Jehan le Bel*, ii., 302). He fights heroically, but is overcome.

He is summoned to surrender, and does so after some trouble about taking him to the Prince.

Taken to the Prince's tent he is entertained to supper where the Prince seats him at table, refuses to sit himself, and personally waits upon his prisoner.

Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 3260-3432.

Lionel was not made duke of Clarence until 1362.

No such homage was done. Cf. *Awntyrs*, 642.

Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 424. The Prince had in 1355 been within fifty miles of the Rhone.

Not historical. Cf. *Awntyrs*, 675.

The light of passing events, reflected in a degree comparatively vague in Golagros, shines with brilliant distinctness on Galleroun and reveals at last what we have waited for so long.

Contemporary History.

Edward III., on 9th May, 1358, grants

Golagros and Gawayne.

After sundry combats Golagros, armed in gold and rubies (\$86), mounted on a white horse (\$95), encounters Gawayne and fights heroically, but is overcome (1024).

Summoned to surrender (1032) and come to the King (1070), he refuses till conditions are adjusted, under which he agrees to be a prisoner while seeming to be captor (1102).

Gawayne goes off apparently captive to the castle of Golagros (1125), where at supper Golagros waits in person at table upon his seeming prisoner.¹

'He gart schir Gawayne upga' (1150-1160).

Golagros then does fealty (1216, 1324).

Fortune's wheel is uncertain (1225), as Hector, Alexander, Caesar, David, Joshua, Judas, Samson, and Solomon knew (1235).

'Schir Lyonel' (1248) and Gawayne conduct Golagros to Arthur who is gladder than of the rents as far as Roneesvalles (1313).

Golagros does homage (1323) and promises fealty if due (1325).

There was a week's feasting on the river Rhone (1345).

Arthur releases Golagros from allegiance (1358).

Awntyrs of Arthure.

To Arthur in his hall rides up to the dais

¹ Neither the white horse nor the table incident occurs in *Perceval*.

Contemporary History.

safe conduct to his sister, 'the lady Johanna' [Queen of Scotland] to visit him. On same day he grants safe conduct also to Sir Robert of Erskine (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 822). The object in view is to procure respite in payment of the ransom of David II., to which all estates in Scotland were stringently obliged by treaty of Berwick in 1357.

The well known Erskine coat of arms is Argent a pale sable (Woodward's *Heraldry*, 346) and a well known Erskine crest is the boar head (Burke's *Ordinary*). Sir Robert's own crest in 1357 and 1359 appearing on his seal was a boar's head¹ (Laing's *Supplemental Catalogue of Seals*).

The ancient crest of the surname of Erskine was a hand holding a dagger. Douglas, *Peerage*, ii., 206, plate 12.



SEAL OF SIR ROBERT OF ERSKINE
USED IN 1357 AND 1359.

Avontyrs of Arthure.

a lady (l. 345) wearing a crown (371) and leading a knight (344) for whom she bespeaks reason and right (350).

The knight's shield armorial is Argent, boar heads sable.

His shelde on his shulder of silver so shene
With bere [other MS. bare] hedes of blake
browed ful bolde [other MS. burely and
baulde]² (ll. 384-5).

The knight's name is Galleroun and his horse carries on its chamfrein a dagger—

An anlas of stele (l. 390).



ERSKINE CREST.

Immediately following the knight, whose name is Galleroun, comes a most interesting personage, occupying a unique place in the

¹ I am informed by the authorities of the Record Office that my friend, Mr. Joseph Bain, in his invaluable *Calendar*, iii., 1660, and iv., 27, erred in stating that the crest was a bear's head. My official informant assures me that there is 'no doubt that the crest is a boar's head.' A cut from a cast of the seal is here presented.

² There can be no doubt that *bere* here, as in *Morte Arthure* (l. 3123), is for boar, not bear. Galleroun's coat is derived from Erskine's by adopting the colours argent and sable, and setting the Erskine crest as a charge into the field in place of the pale.

Contemporary History.

Immediately after the safe-conducts of the Queen and Sir Robert there is granted another to SIR HEW OF EGLINTOUN, dated 11th May, 1358.

Presumably Sir Hew travelled with the royal party to London.

It is Sir Hew's first safe-conduct and may have been his first visit to the Court of England (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 823).

Mural decorations (with *tablettes*, etc.) of new work at Windsor are a glory of the time (Walsingham, anno 1344, Leland's *Collectanea*, tome ii., 377. Cf. *Gawayne*, 763-803).

Erskine belongs to the west of Scotland, his patrimony being in Renfrewshire, but owned lands in Cunningham, in Kyle, near Loch Lomond, in the Lennox, in Lenzie, and in Lothian (*Rotuli Magni Sigilli*, 1306-1424, pp. 31, 84, 108-9; Douglas, *Pecage*, ii. 207).

Galloway had only been so far recovered in 1356 (*Wyntoun*, viii., 6597). Edward III. had charter of it (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 788) from Edward Balliol.

Thomas of Holland assumed the title of Earl of Kent in 1358¹; he died in December, 1360. His son was Thomas, who became earl in 1360 (Coxe's notes to Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ll. 141, 1588; Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gibson, 213).

The Black Prince had griffons among his badges (*Royal Wills*, 73; cf. *Morte*, 3869, 3946). The Queen, Philippa of Hainault, was the French King's niece.

Scotland had fought keenly but been over-come at Durham, when David II. was captured.

Scotland has pledged itself in 1357 for 100,000 marks for the ransom of the King. For this the youthful heirs of the best blood in Scotland are held as hostages. Erskine's son is one of them (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 812).

Awentyrs of Arthure.

poem. The passage quoted is all there is about him.

A FREKE ONE A FRESONE him folowed in fay.

The fresone was afered for dred of that fare,

For he was seldene woute to se

The tablet fluré,

Siche gamen ne gle

Sagh he never are (398-403).

These lines bear the stamp usual to an author's indirect reference to himself. A 'freke' is a common term for a man.

The Knight has come from the west of Scotland (420) to claim back lands there which Arthur has wrongfully won in war (421). They consist of west country lands in Carrick, Cunningham, Kyle, Lomond, Lennox, and Lenzie, but extend also to Lothian.

Galleroun demands duel, which Gawayne undertakes, and the lists are prepared (477).

The King commanded krudely [other MS. kindeli] the erlis sone of Kent

Curtaysly in this case take kepe to the knight (482-3).

Gawayne's arms are griffons and he is lord of Wales (509, 666-7). Queen Guinevere was 'born in Burgundy' (30).

There is a fierce duel, and Galleroun is vanquished and he surrenders (640).

He submits and gives up his 'renttis and reches' (646).

¹ The *Nat. Dict. Biog.* gives this as 1359.

Contemporary History.

Edward III., on 12th February, 1359, expressly states that to the earnest and oft repeated request¹ of his sister Johanna was due his agreeing to respite stern action² for the Scottish failure to meet the ransom.

Erskine and Sir Hew attest in London on 21st Feb., 1359, David II.'s acknowledgment of Edward's concession of respite (Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 27).

David II.'s release, under treaty of Berwick in 1357, had very stringent conditions for his return if the instalments of ransom were not duly paid. David often repaid to the Round Table; so did Erskine himself, who seems to have been accomplished in tilting (Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, i., 14; Bain, iv., 93; *Rot. Scot.*, i., 892). Erskine's very significant visits to England about St. George's Day are noted below.

Thus there are marrow bones of true history in *Golagros* and the *Awntyrs*. Superb and dramatic as are the annals of literary research, it may be questioned if they contain any revelation more marvellous and pictorial than this of the Knight of Eglintoun, then young in his poetical career, riding on his startled Frisian steed, with Queen and Chamberlain, as they approach the court of Edward III.

The boar's head marshals the way to a complete understanding of the place of the Round Table poems. In the *Awntyrs* it associates with them in the most pointed manner that powerful Scottish baron, justiciar, chamberlain, officer of state, and soldier, Sir Robert of Erskine. Its occurrence about the same time also at the Christmas feast in *Garwayne* (ll. 1616-54), is not casual, but carries a touch of heraldic allegory. When

Awntyrs of Arthure.

Galleroun is oppressed by his adversary, and the lady implores (619) Guinevere, who implores Arthur³ to make concord (625).

Arthur does so, and procures the release of Galleroun's lands (672-6).

He is released (675) with a reservation about his lingering a while to make repair to the Round Table (684) of which he is made a knight (701).

¹ Nous a la grande et diligente requeste et instance de nostre tres chere soere Dame Johane, compaignie du dit Sire David, que nous ad sur ce meinte foiz supplie, de nostre grace especiale grauntons [etc.] (*Rotuli Scot.*, i., 835, 12th February, 1359).

² Forfeiture would have made matters very risky and unhappy for the hostages under the treaty. The hostage rubrics of Geoffrey (ch. 13 above) are notes of Scottish anxiety.

³ The intervention of 'Waynour' (l. 625) may have come from that of 'Venna' between Belinus and Brennius.

again it confronts us on a banner in *Wynnere and Wastoure* (l. 175), and on a shield in *Golagros* (l. 605), the inference deepens that the whole Round Table set is connected with Sir Robert as well as with Sir Hew, whose entire career ran alongside Erskine's. Year after year from 1358 onward—in 1362, 1363, 1365, 1368, 1369, 1370, and 1373—Erskine procures safe-conduct to travel into England (sometimes Sir Hew does so at the same time) a week or two before St. George's festival¹—countenancing most circumstantially the statement that the prototype of Galleroun was either admitted a Knight of the Garter or was otherwise closely concerned with that proudest brotherhood of chivalry. His personal accomplishment in knightly arms may be inferred from his once² carrying north with him a 'ketil-hat,' his appearing once as a commander of a troop, and his position as castellan of David II's fortresses. He stood in high favour with Edward III. as we know from the gift made to him of a rich gold cup³ in 1363. Year after year, too, we find his safe-conducts timed so as to let him spend Christmas in England—for instance⁴ in 1361, 1363, and 1367—again a fact probably indicative of the good graces towards him of the English king.

Between the two, the celebrations of the Round Table and the Christmas festivities, it is easy to find natural room for the poems of Erskine's friend and colleague Sir Hew, some of them romances of the Table Round, appropriate to the honour of the king of chivalry, Edward III., and the Black Prince, not forgetting now and then that of the knight (concerning whom one of them was written) whose crest was a boar's head.⁵ Thus at last history vindicates itself, and the mystery of Huchown and his alliterative poems remains a mystery no more.

¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, 862, 872, 890, 917, 928, 937, 955.

² *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 892.

³ Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 93.

⁴ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 859, 877-8, 916-7. At the last reference Erskine's son's arms and armour make a striking analogy to those in *Gawayne*, 574-83.

⁵ The heraldic discovery on which this chapter is based has led to others which explain the unidentified Friars' banners in *Wynnere and Wastoure*. The first banner has six galleys of sable, each with a brace (or bend) and two buckles. The galleys sable indicate John of the Isles (Woodward's *Heraldry*, ed. 1892, p. 367), and the bend and two buckles his wife, Margaret de Vaus (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1306-1424, p. 48), whose

18. CONCLUSIONS.

To the fifteen leading propositions formerly tabulated, the preceding chapter now adds:

16. An allegorically historical sense in *Golagros and Gawayne* strangely parallel to that of the second half of the *Awntyrs of Arthure*:
17. The demonstration of the inner yet obvious meaning of both poems:
18. A beautiful and decisive personal revelation by the poet himself.

To review and assemble (although in the baldest, crudest, and most disorderly fashion) the detached sections of this long involved and ill-stated argument, chiefly in the shape of successive series of parallelisms, has been a task of the greatest magnitude, inasmuch as, for the first time, the general features of a supreme poet fall to be set on the canvas. It is not to be disguised that the countenance which begins to show itself with growing definiteness through the curtain of the fourteenth century is of no common

grandfather bore a bend with two 'cinquefoils (?)' which perhaps were buckles (Bain's *Calendar*, ii., p. 545). There were, by legend, six kings of the Isles (*Galf. Monumet.* ix., 19), and the Scottish lordship of Man was held by service of six galleys (Earl of Haddington's MS. *Adv. Lib.*, 34. 2. 1 [pagination series at end] pp. 34^b-5^b). The second banner is yet more interesting. With both 'brerdes' (or bordures) of black and a balk (or void) like the sun in the middle, it plainly denotes the Balliol orle with field of silver (*Roll of Carlaverock*, ed. Wright, 25). The third banner has three boar heads, and is that either of Sir Robert Erskine or of Sir John Gordon, a distinguished Scottish soldier (*Wyntoun*, x., ch. 2), whose arms were three boar heads (Woodward's *Heraldry*, 227), who was taken prisoner at Poitiers, and who was in England in 1357 and 1358 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 808, 824). The fourth banner, argent with a belt buckled, gives us Norman Lesley's argent a bend with three buckles (Woodward, plate, p. 376). John of the Isles and Edward Balliol were both included in the Berwick treaty of 1357 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 812-814). The peace thus negotiated embraced 'le yle de Manne.' The Queen and Erskine have their safe-conducts to London on 9th May, 1358, Sir Hew and Lesley on the 11th (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 822, 823). The arms are not exact and the tinctures are altered, but probably no herald will dispute the likelihood of these identifications. Thus *Wynmere and Wastoure* conveys hints of a surprising variety of strifes and concords in fields both sacred and secular, Scottish and English. The two allies of Edward III., John of the Isles and Edward Balliol, are thus silyly presented along with two of his Scottish adversaries, Gordon (or Erskine) and Lesley. The last named was taken prisoner by the English in France in 1359 (*Scalaonica*, 190), and distinguished himself under the King of Cyprus in the descent on Alexandria in 1365 (Bower, ii., 488).

type; it is the countenance of an immortal who ranks among the great formative forces in the literature of the English tongue, who, while Chaucer was still (to public intents) silent, had ransacked the storehouses of Latin, French, and English, in the quest of material for romantic narrative, and who no less than Chaucer set his seal forever on the literary art of his own generation and of the generations to follow. The hand which seeks to unroll a little further Wyntoun's brief scroll of Huchown's achievement may well tremble as it deals with a task so weighty, for either these pages are a vain and credulous figment, or Huchown's range and grasp in romance place him as a unique and lofty spirit, comparable in respect of his greatness only with Walter Scott. But great and sweet as is the personality and interesting as is the evolution of Scott, and superior far as he was to Huchown in original romance, the time at which Huchown lived invests him with a historical note which our wizard story-teller may not claim. In Huchown we have a superb craftsman of letters in the fourteenth century, albeit the latest *Dictionary of National Biography* knows him not.

Away in that remote time, what was his achievement? He found, so far as we can conceive, little in the way of native Scottish literature. Whatever his motives—and we can well enough surmise that his poetic leanings were quickened by Court applause—he applied himself to a lofty and mighty task. His equipment must have been excellent, as the standard of the time went. Certainly he was, as he himself said of the pious Æneas, 'Of literature and language learned enow,' an easy master of Latin and French, and recondite in the English tongue, with a tendency not uncommon among poets towards archaism. It seems fairly reasonable to hold that his earlier pieces include, along with the *Wars of Alexander*, a number of pieces on Scriptural themes. The *Pistill of Susan* is the story of Susanna and the Elders, paraphrased from the Vulgate in an amplified manner. *Cleanness* is a Scriptural poem, which singularly chooses for its illustration a marine subject, the story of Noah, powerfully told. *Patience* likewise is somewhat incongruously illuminated by another marine story, that of Jonah, his stormy voyage, and the whale. The *Destruction of Troy* was not a task likely to have been undertaken by a mere tyro of poesy, but required an experienced and ready versifier, as its facility of execution fully attests.

But it is in the works which follow the *Troy* that the evolution of this poetic genius may best be traced—traced with a measure of certainty which would have been impossible but for the license of the fourteenth century poets to use, not once but once and again, the same figures, phrases, and lines. Huchown, like many, perhaps like most, early writers, English, Scots, or French, when he had a thing to say a second time had no shame in saying it in identical terms with the first. The same threads, now bright and now of sober grey, reappear in more than one of his many-coloured patterns. The thing was inevitable in the work of a poet of large production. Yet in Huchown, as editors long ago noted, his distinction is his endless minor variation, even in the repeated phrases. To the fact that he did so repeat we owe our chief means of identifying his work. These repetitions are carried over from the sheer translations, like the *Alexander* and the *Troy*, to the more independent products. *Titus and Vespasian* is amongst the latter, in large degree an original performance, combining and adapting various incidents and descriptions not belonging to the story as he found it. The plainsong of Huchown's note came, like Chaucer's, from traditional themes, though each made the composition his own by nobly distinctive chords. It was the privilege of the trouvère often to be content to echo what he found, but the masters were ever wont to mend and combine as well as to find. Much more rarely did they 'make.' The methods of composition, by mingled translation, adaptation, and creation, are all present in *Morte Arthure*, and the amplifications count for far more than the original narrative. Some of the additions are inventions of the poet's own, but for the most part he did not invent—he adapted. *The Parlement of the Three Ages* belongs, as it seems to me, to the close of his career, and forms, as it were, his testament, for does it not sum up his past course through all his themes—through *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*? Besides, does it not, for a second time, utilise, as had been done in *Morte Arthure*, its chief authorities, the *Brut* and the *Voeux du Poen*?

And *Gawayne and the Green Knight* also was remembered when the *Parlement* was put together by a man who by 1376 was probably old—*Gawayne*, which Wyntoun attributed to Huchown, and which also has so many identical passages or lines of close resemblance to *Alexander*,

Troy, *Titus*, *Morte Arthure*, and the *Parlement*, especially the *Parlement*. Nor may it be forgotten, as Sir Frederick Madden and others have not failed to notice, that the unique MS. of *Gawayne* has the incomplete superscription,

HUGO DE

on its opening page.¹

Now let us note the distinguishing feature of *Gawayne*, that beautiful poem in praise first of chivalric purity, and second—and only second—of knightly valour and courtly grace. On the other hand, it handles with delicate dexterity a trying theme of temptation, from which the chastity of its hero emerges without a stain. There is not room here to discuss the multiplied evidences of the connection of this poem with the *Honi soit qui mal y pense* motto of the Garter. It is such as to make the poem a derivative of the incident of English court history which gave rise to the most illustrious Order of the age of chivalry. As a poem it is full of the life and practice of courtly circles, as strong in its ceremonial and state as in woodcraft and love of the chase and of arms. Deeply and finely religious in tone, *Gawayne* removes all difficulty of understanding how a poet could take themes so diverse as Arthur, and Erkenwald, and Susanna, and could so linger over the hunt in the *Parlement* and the hawking scene in *Wynneere and Wastoure*. Through all, whether translation, paraphrase, or original piece—without one ignoble or questionable line, such as the wit of Chaucer, Dunbar, and Burns made them impotent to resist—there shines a soul of translucent purity. Posterity, which does not hit upon its epithets by chance, has fitly remembered the knight of Eglintoun as ‘the gude Sir Hew.’ Perhaps future generations will recognize him as the supreme exponent of British chivalry in its triple ideals of earnest purity, of courtesy, and of valour.

Law in its relation to literature fills a rôle of no small distinction. Finer testimony to legal aptness for literary study need not be sought than Chaucer’s making his Man of Law, alone of the goodly company in

¹This is presented in *facsimile* in Madden’s *Syr Gawayne*, introd. li., and discussed by him on p. 302.

the *Canterbury Tales*, have authoritative knowledge¹ and a shrewd, critical opinion of the whole series of Chaucer's poems. This was indeed a pleasant compliment to the accidental accomplishments of a member of the profession. It was not what we have in *Erkenwald*, a tribute to the nobility of justice, the kingliness of the function of the upright and gentle judge. That such a tribute, eloquent with a certain high and solemn emotion, should have come from a poet earlier than Chaucer, from a Man of Law before the Canterbury pilgrimage, enhances the import of this well-told medieval tale. Medieval of course it is, but it is Medievalism *in exelsis*. The poem, too, links with the *Pearl* on the one hand and the *Awenturs of Arthure* on the other in a manner to reveal the power and grace of the mind which could from the somewhat gross *Trentalle* of St. Gregory pluck such fruit.

What shall we of this generation accept as Huchown's signal merit and contribution to our literary or our national history? Even were he not Hew of Eglintoun he is the unanswerable proof of the culture of the period, revealing the breadth and depth of its romance learning and the variety of one man's resources, ranging from such Latin works as the *De Preliis* and *Hegesippus*, and such medieval literature as Guido's *De Excidio Trojae*, Maundeville's *Itinerary*, and the historical story-book of the *Brut*, to whole cycles of French romance on Alexander and Arthur and Charlemagne, and the galaxy of heroes and heroines whom each of these led in his ever-growing train. Considered merely as a poetic unity, and without his personal name, he is a noble link between the literature of the Continent and that of our island, imitating yet no slave, learned yet no pedant, borrowing freely yet transfusing what he borrowed in the fire of what he gave—an international student who learnt much from French literary art, but who out of his Latin and French materials drew English poems of which the power is all his own. And being (alike according to the apparent voice of early chronicle and the result of recent research) a Scottish lawyer and courtier, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, a mighty singer of Cunningham unheard of by the bard of Kyle, he remains for the literature

¹ Introduction to the Man of Law's prologue.

of English speech all these things, and at the same time is immeasurably more, completing and antedating by his own magnificent example the evidence of Barbour and Wyntoun to the culture of the Scottish court under the Bruces and the Stewarts, and lending stately promise to that national literature which, with independent destiny, was to be at once a thing apart and an integral portion of the common glory of English literature. Looked at whole, he is a personality whose magnitude challenges the highest, while the obscurity of his personal life, almost completely hidden (had it not been for his manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his own priceless miniature of himself in the *Awentyrs of Arthure*) behind a few brief intimations of his public functions as courtier and judge, heightens by its contrast the splendour of a mighty spirit and the marvel of a unique career. Who could have dreamed that portrait so meagre and accidental as that of the companion of Galleroun would, after five centuries, admit of recognition? Who could have hoped that after such an interval records would be found to overcome the reticence of a poet about himself? Mountain and moor have darkened round his name and memory; he sleeps in a forgotten grave; but the west winds have long been whispering that we should yet find him wearing a kingly diadem and buried in gold.

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